



BOSTON UNIVERSITY
GRADUATE SCHOOL

Thesis

HAS PAUL A "SOCIAL GOSPEL" ?

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I. INTRODUCTION

The history of human society portrays and illustrates the balance and over-balance, the play and interplay, within the body and spirit of society, of two fundamental forces, the centrifugal and the centripetal. The historian may well interpret the past experience of mankind by outlining the action and counter-action of these two forces as facts, illustrated quite clearly in any period by their resulting integration and disintegration of social groups, customs, and philosophies. The physicists, who have so aptly introduced these facts as most powerful in the physical universe, prove them by their obvious results in the operation of physical bodies. Therefore, the historian might prove the operation of these forces by calling attention to their results, such as: war between men and nations, the dissolution of societies such as the Greek and the Roman, the disintegration of morals, education, and culture in the Middle Ages; the scattering of forces of human welfare, and achievement soon after; the opening of the Industrial Revolution, the disintegration of personality; all these counteracted by the centripetal force expressed in the dependence of mankind on each other for subsistence, culture, art, education, the moral ideal, scientific inventions and research, and religions founded on the unselfish motive of love.

Considering religion not as an institution but as a phase of life which is both individual and social in its

E. INTERDUTTING

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as dud moistricent da se don noightar palmentanob att ni f toos the implythal about at dains ofil to emply a implication, religion has been the one force which has been most able to include these other centripetal forces of society, and which has been consistently interested in bringing society to a unity and relating the individual to it. To these qualifications or capabilities, the religion of Christ adds the most potent centripetal force of humanity - love, and not only that, bases its tenets, doctrines, and principles, on the universal significance of human personality. This religion includes knowledge and culture, which are so important to Greek philosophy, law which is so important a force in ancient or modern society, and supercedes them all.

Love was a force in society before the time of the Founder of Christianity but he has crystallized it, with the help of prophets and apostles, ancient and modern, until Christianity is the embodiment and incarnation of the unselfish principle. No philosophy, system of thought, or human custom, can boast of a greater significance as a centripetal force in society than Christianity, and some doubt that Christianity can be equalled in this respect.

an individual message (spiritual) and a social message (ethical) that it has its power. It is lofty as well as lowly. Its individual message has depended on the mutual aid from other members of the social scheme, for precedent and for reality. Its social message still depends on an emphasis on a common ideal, and the cohesive power of a common goal. It has relied on each individual finding his own place, and as the molecules of an iron bar are each polarized by the proximity of a strong

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magnet pulling them one way, so Christianity has attempted to polarize human society.

If one would give a single name to the message of the Christian religion it would be - the Gospel. The Gospel cannot be divided up into compartments, but it has had its different applications. When applied to the needs and amelioration of any existing social order, it is called "the Social Gospel". The problem of this study is to ascertain whether there is any specific application of the Gospel to social conditions and to the social order of the First Century A. D. by the Apostle Paul, or more specifically, does he preach a Social Gospel in his messages to the Christian communities he founded or to whom he wrote? And also, do his life and his missionary journeys express a definite social aim determined at any point in his colorful career? Still further, is there an unconscious purpose in his leadership of the primitive Christian communities, which, if put into words, expresses a social gospel?

The Social Gospel Defined

To define the Social Gospel is a difficult task. Perhaps it is because there is so much to this phase of the Christian message, that men have not been able to sum up all its nature and characteristics in a couple well-chosen sentences. The term is ambiguous, and often confused with scientific social service, reform movements and measures, socialism, and other answers to anguished cries of peoples oppressed by an economic, political, or social class system.

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The social gospel goes deeper than mere amelioration of external conditions. It endeavors to go underneath to the roots of human life. It neither puts laws upon a man, nor leaves him without guidance. Social teachings by education and by the prophetic voice are part of this guidance. It is the answer to a call for a centripetal force in the existing society at that given time. The social gospel sees the contradiction between the Christian social ideal and the existing economic or political order, and is at once ready with principles to be applied toward solution of the problem.

And because of the place of the Church as a directive force in human society, the church has had the responsibility of proclaiming a social gospel. Whenever the church has had a social message, that gospel has been born out of the compulsion of a deep religious experience.

There has always been discontent with the church for its silence, the unjust practice of its members, and the indifference with which it has looked upon social conditions. The church has been challenged to bring God and society together. In the modern day the working man will not go to church, for he has gone and asked for bread, and he has received a philosophical stone. Society has continually asked for a gospel of an immanent God, a God of all human institutions and relations, of armies, of labor unions, of corporations, of strikes, a God who has some answer for social discontent. Men have felt that God is one who should take care of widows and orphans, not one who merely swings worlds for his own cosmic amusement. He must be a Father of Jesus Christ. Of course, it is hard

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to put God in Malthus' law, so the church put Him back into theology, and left the question of population and poverty to the sociologists. The church has sometimes taken up social service as a fad. But the religion that the church has to present to the masses had to be one that was up to their needs, not an idle repetition of creeds as the sum total of the church's office among people.

Inherent in the problem of any new social order for a discontented world is the problem of guidance and direction of social energies. This has been the special problem of the Christian church - to direct the social energy that is original in the teaching of Christ. This has been done by enlarging and intensifying a social education program. Men were taught to live together, bringing a fraternity inspired by a religion that has always been a unifying force. Art and literature are universal interests, but they never kept men together permanently. But hunger and desire for property were other universal elements which have remained. Union among men has been brought about only by a real common interest, and what can better represent this common meeting-place and represent it to everybody, than religion?

which have caused disintegration in society, appearing in different forms and blighting the race, and every individual. The stronger the man, or the stronger the organization, the stronger these forces have assailed him. These same powers killed Jesus. They are the causes which in fact have resulted in the sacrifice of religious prophets in religious centers.

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They are expressed in Bigotry, resulting in social classes, persecution, and bitterness. Corrupt Politics is another expression of these forces, resulting in graft and moneyed interests. Corrupt Justice is still another, illustrated in the bribes and Pilates. Another force has been Mob Psychology, characterized by racial hatred, conservatism, and fanaticism. Mobs have been intoxicating to the social spirit. Militarism, with its war, and arrogance, has had a real disintegrating influence. Another has been Class Contempt, expressed in pride, riches, and resulting in disunity, and materialism. Against these forces of disintegration, the Church has been called to preach a gospel that will unify and pull together lost powers and energies. Social discontent has utilized the Church in two ways, as a dynamic toward social betterment, and as an illustration of the need for a social God. The social gospel must be one of unsatisfied needs.

We have mentioned the Gospel as the name for the message of Christianity. The name is a translation of its Greek equivalent -e vayyellow. The original meaning was the "God-story" and "the reward of good tidings". "But the word came to denote the 'good tidings' themselves and this is the Christian usage." (Jesus uses the word to describe his message in Matthew 24:14; 26:13; Mark 1:15; 10:29; 13:10; Luke 7:22.) Thus "good tidings" seems to best express the contribution the Gospel has to make to the world of men's affairs.

The Church as organized Christianity has been called often to cease "living too much for Christianity and too little

^{1 -} Hastings, James - Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels
Vol. I, p. 659

They are supressed in Digotry, resulting to social aleases, persecution, and withouses, forever, forever, in graft and manyed fermeanion of these fores, resulting in graft and manyed in theoretic. Durings deales is still mornion, illustrated in the brider of the brider, and theoretical actions and breaking, and breaking, the briders and District and Secretary, and Secretary, and Secretary, and Secretary, and the still action of the social approximation, and structured and arrogance, has been the district the Characters, and resulting in district the fewers and energial that will unity and relation to present a poster that the Characters and energies, break discounted the Characters and energies, break discounted the admitted to the county to the ment of the ment for a dealed bettered the county of and the ment for a dealed that a dealed of the county of the ment for a dealed of the county of the ment for a dealed of the county of the ment for a dealed of the county of the ment of the ment for a dealed of the county of the ment of the ment for a dealed of the county of the ment of the ment for a dealed of the county of the ment of the ment for a dealed of the county of the ment of the ment for a dealed of the county of the ment of the ment for a dealed of the county of the ment of the ment for a dealed of the county of the ment of the ment for a dealed of the county of the ment of the ment for a dealed of the county of the ment of the ment for a dealed of the county of the ment of the ment for a dealed of the county of the ment of the ment for a dealed of the county of the ment of the ment for a dealed of the county of the ment of the ment for a dealed of the county of the ment of the ment for a dealed of the county of the ment o

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The Church as organized Christianity has been selled

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for civilization". In the primitive Christian community, it sought to get men to repent for their collective sins; in other words, its message created a sensitive social conscience. And it was not a matter of choice but of destiny. The church as it was started was to be "a flavoring" social force ("Ye are the salt of the earth" was not a term of mere affection on the part of Jesus - Matthew 5:13). Modern Christendom has been compelled to see that if it ceases to do this it must relinquish its place to some other effective agency.

Following its primitive stage, Christianity became less individualistic. We own this to the Roman Catholic church, which emphasized ceremony, sacraments, creed, dogma, and theology. But the fact that Jesus' ethics were lost to the Christian world by disuse did not guarantee the failure of their return - they were too well founded in the truth that is at the heart of a society of men. "The social gospel is God's predestined agent to continue what the Reformation began," against oppression, fear, in favor of liberty, toleration, and love.

The modern historical interpretation of the Bible shows us that the Scripture is applicable to the social gospel, for it puts the authors and religious persons, their conflicts and their growth, their spiritual experiences, into a relation with the life in which they live. Thus, the Bible becomes a reservoir of faith for the social gospel. There is a splendid example in the Old Testament prophets.

^{1 -} Brown, C.R. - The Social Message of the Modern Pulpit -

^{2 -} Rauschenbusch, W. - Theology for the Social Gospel - p. 177

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The social gospel is a prophetic movement already become orthodox. Of course it gives new ideals in practical theology. It demands that the church produce leaders fired by a Christian social passion. It changes pastoral and organizing work and gives a wider vision and a more comprehensive statesmanship to missions. Its literature is noted for its conviction and vitality. It is often objected to as being very modern and realistic, with its ethics as its sole emphasis. But it is plain that ethics is only part of a supreme faith in a God, whose Kingdom represents harmonious unified humanity.

The social gospel is a religious reaction to democracy. It seeks to demonstrate the democratic spirit that is inherent in the Kingdom of God, and which is the only spirit that can survive in any society. The social gospel in our modern day endeavors to reveal more clearly the democratic spirit in the teachings and institutions of Christianity. It "approximates lay religion. It deals with the ethical problems of the present life with which the common man is familiar and which press upon his conscience". a type of religious experience which might be called the prophetic type and is known by "its fruits". When converted to the Christ of society we feel confident of a personal salvation, which, when it has become strong, expresses the expulsive power of a great love, and we look beyond to where our personality makes contact with the social group to which we belong, and immediately applies itself to the problem of the life of the individual next to us, and thus becomes a program of social recemption. It fuses the spirit of Christ

^{1 -} Rauschenbusch, W. - Theology for the Social Gospel - p. 16

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^{1 -} Reundlesbusst, L. - Thealtry for the books brazil - p. 16

and the social consciousness, and redeems the social organism as a part of its faith in salvation from sin. Because Christianity redeems individuals and transforms men and women, these same become a transformed environment which is indispensable to a new social order. Regeneration of society cannot be done in an unregenerate environment, and a regenerate environment depends on the transformation of each man and woman who is a member of that society. The objection is often given that the social gospel does not show any individual responsibility for sin and for guilt. In answer to that, we claim that because each individual is indispensable, that there is a definite responsibility for personal righteousness. Traditional theology says that the social gospel blames sin upon environment, but traditional theology has its equivalent for environment - original sin.

The best explanation of what the social gospel is will be found in Jesus' life and teachings, and especially his emphasis upon the Kingdom of God, and the ideal of human brotherhood. If the church can give adequate attention to the basic ideas of the Founder of Christianity, it will have a task that calls for its best intelligence, its strongest power, and its most inspired courage. It is not a new gospel that is imperative for the needs of society; it is an adequate interpretation of the old gospel in modern terms. The Christian church has greatly neglected the social ethics of Jesus, and thereby has caused untold disastrous results to society and individuals.

The Kingdom of God ideal was conceived by Jesus as a realm of love in which there was a commonwealth of labor,

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and each was interested in the other at least as much as he was in himself. Each was conscious of the other's needs and ministered to them out of the reservoir of his own abilities. Jesus himself lived outside of his own interests, and thus became the colossal example of the socially transformed individual. He found himself by losing himself, and the problems of the world were personal problems to him, and not just official. Christ "reaches the heights of greatness through devotion to his fellows". His concern for human life was a moral concern as well as religious. He looked upon society from the moral rather than from the economic standpoint, and his broad general principles found adequate expression in every sphere of human activity. This has been true down to the present time. "The social idealism of Jesus is the forerunner of social reconstruction", and his principle of sacrifice - "Whoso loseth his life shall save it" (Matthew 10:39) - would lead the way to a solution of many of the problems of our modern organization. This same principle would have an answer for some of the questions arising from many of our accepted institutions.

The first effect of Jesus' teachings, and uniquely enough the first effect of the social gospel, also, has been a heightened conception of the worth of men. Human personality becomes the greatest value. "The estimate of dignity possible to the individual man is everywhere present in the New Testament. Jesus came 'to seek and to save the lost', Paul counted himself a debtor to all men in that he possessed the news of salvation that might be theirs." To these two great Christian leaders the worth of a life was in its capacity to become better than itself. Then social regeneration follows as

^{1 -} Mahoney, C. K. - Social Evolution and the Development of

^{2 -} Barker, J. M. - The Social Gospel and the New Era - p. 2 3 - Matthews, Sahiler - Social Gospel - p. 13

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naturally from this realization as day follows dawn. Neither of these men allowed that men were to be saved as hermits.

Man might be drawn away from an evil world into a good one - the Kingdom.

The Kingdom of God ideal depended upon a conception of the universal Fatherhood of God. Such a conception looked upon men as the children of God, and, therefore, brothers.

There never has been and never will be a more supreme unifying factor for social organizations than this one, which should be at the heart of the social gospel. The Kingdom, to Jesus, was to be a "Kingdom of right relations among men established here and now but progressively realized". This ideal was correlated with the family, property, church, and state.

He preached a new attitude toward women, and had at the center of family life an ideal of domestic integrity. Of course his idea of the sacredness of marriage depended on a foundation principle in his gospel, and that is the worth and sacredness of human personality.

Whatever Jesus preached, he carried out in his own life. He attached himself to a group of twelve men, diversified in personality and in experience, and from the first depended upon society to propagate religion. This fact seems to be a challenge to religion now to save society from disintegration. Jesus was a friend of the underprivileged classes and called upon himself the disapproval of those who considered themselves the basis of authority. Their pedestal was class distinction and economic superiority. Jesus' principles were too large for any one social system alone. Although he

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worked from within society he also looked upon it from above, and no one can deny the strong emphasis he put on society and the relation of the individual to that society. In all this he was consistent with his teaching on personal religious experience. The individual and social emphasis are two real aspects of Jesus' vital concept.

Jesus conceived property as owned by God the Father and, therefore, he considered that wealth demanded stewardship. He warned against materialism, but did not idealize poverty. He spent much of his time warring against the disadvantages of poverty, but at the same time portrayed money as a peril and a test of man's character. Jesus never championed one social class for its own sake, but with an eye on the whole social order. He approved of alms giving, but never considered it as the discharge of anyone's whole obligation to the needy. He believed that money should be used for happiness and beauty, and he insisted that there was no double standard of riches, making it right to earn dishonorably and use honorably. He believed that the station of the poor should be relieved, but that alms-giving was not nearly as effective as the elimination of industrial injustice. Concerning the working classes, he believed that there should be no hoarding of capital, and that each man should be industrious in his work and should have proper remuneration.

Jesus regarded the state not as end but a means to an end, and that as a means only should it be respected.

There is only one thing for the church to do with the social ethics of Jesus. Where his opinion has been given in worked from mining sectory he also lected appeals for the above, and seed no one can deep the surroug emphasis to put an acciety and the relation of the individual as that acciety. In all this he was seed to seed a personal religious of sectors. The individual and configurate are two real appeared of sectors of sectors.

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specific situations, the task is to go to the bottom of them and search out the principle that underlies his specific advices, and to apply it as he applied it. The social gospel will then be utilizing the Christian ideal, and "the discovery of the potency and the meaning of the ideal will give inspiration, courage, and enthusiasm to the various forms of social activity". This, then, is the challenge to the social gospel to present the ideal, and help men realize their dreams and visions. With every triumph of spiritual and ethical ideals comes an advancement in the social order, and every victory for mercy and justice marks the establishment of the permanency of the social gospel. The authority of the social gospel and the church that upholds it and preaches it, is measured by its conformity to the Kingdom ideal, and the measure of its success is determined by its ability to impart and inspire society with this ideal.

The social gospel of the Church of Christ does not compete with the school, government, or amusements - it appeals along the lines of religious approach. It does not appeal to authority for that has been a disintegrating force. It teaches toleration. It preaches principles of social conduct, and does not take sides in sociological questions excepting in cases that involve principles. It produces men who are leaders, and material for a better social environment. As a result, the local church has a community responsibility.

The Kingdom of God is not limited to church activities, but is extended into the whole of life and is a Christian transfiguration of the social order. The questions of wealth

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and poverty and the like, so affect human happiness and progress that they are inevitably subjects of moral concern, and the Christian mission, as we have already seen, is one of making humanity universally and ultimately righteous. The natural conclusion is that "the more of the activities of life that can be brought into some connection with religion and religious institutions, the better it is for religion and the better it is for society".

So we have come to see that the social gospel is not a program alone but also a principle, involved in the origin and total make-up of society. It is not the abolition of class, but the eradication of hatred between the classes. There need not be an immediate intermarriage of races, but there should be a development of an equality of opportunity in different peoples based on the sense of brotherhood. Denominations will not cease to be, but there will be an abolition of the competitive spirit in spiritual things. Nations will remain, but wars between nations will cease. "The great dynamic of a society as it advances toward a real, a world-wide fraternity, will be a public opinion surcharged with the ideals of the gospel." After all, the main concern of the gospel is with ideals. Actual reforms in the social world will be the duty and obligation of the members of the church; the heaven-born duty of the church will be to inspire the members. "The greatest service which the Church can render society just at the present, would be to contribute the spirit of Jesus to the ideals which are provocative of discontent." The fundamental mission of the Church will then be dynamic rather than regulative.

¹⁻ Mahoney - p. 162

²⁻ Matthews - Church and the Changing Order - p. 109
3- Ibid - p. 128

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Three central principles of Christian character outlined in the New Testament had immediate wide social results: Love, which in the Old Testament was not coordinate with the other commandments, but separate, and here in the New Testament includes them all, with justice as the result; Fraternity - "love expressed in social action which involves the recognition of the equality of human life, of the worth of mankind; "and Faith that "God Himself is bringing the better social order" .

Any social religion must conduct an intelligent analysis of the existing economic morality, and give to the groups to which it ministers the results of its investigation. We have said that a social gospel is not to be social service alone. One must look to the heart of the social gospel to find its full expression. There he will find God and Christ. No social gospel endeavors to merely guild playgrounds and form boards of arbitration. It preaches a whole system of principles centered around a personal relation between God and the individual. The Christian task is spiritual before it is sociological. Unless God has a part in human development, one fails to see how there is any social evolution. The social gospel is based on a religious philosophy that finds its center in a Creatr, whose creation of men makes them brothers. This, therefore, makes God the Creator and origin of social law. It ceases to be a gospel of "good news" when it leaves out faith in God the Father.

What is the significance of the Baptism and the Lord's Supper in a social gospel? The primitive Christians

^{1 -} Matthews - Social Gospel - p. 27 2 - Ibid - p. 28

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regarded Baptism as a symbol of ethical cleansing as well as spiritual regeneration. It joined the baptized to a company of believers. He was initiated into a fraternity. The ceremony had its social significance, as well as individual. The Lord's Supper was looked upon as a memorial social mean, exhibiting a bond of social fellowship that existed between the participants. It also recognized the worth of sacrificial living and the Fatherhood of God over a community of brethren. Not only that but in the primitive church, the poor were fed at this common meal.

Despite the impression one would get from the above discussion of Jesus' social principles, we are not willing to definitely declare that Jesus' gospel was a social gospel. It certainly had social implications. Jesus did not see the problems of each succeeding century, and there may be some doubt as to his knowledge of social problems outside of Palestine; he could not map out human endeavor but gave a compass to guide. There is more to a social gospel than religious experience. A program is implied, not of reforms essentially, but of education with the moral and ethical point of view, and as we have said before, a new interpretation and application of the older principles. The most radical type is a real program of social reconstruction, a revolutionizing of economic and political plans and methods. Through transformed institutions the individual is to be saved.

From the preceding considerations, we might suggest a definition of the social gospel of our own, namely that
The social gospel is a body of Christian principles founded on faith in God and Jesus Christ, expressed in love for God and

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Christ and toward fellowmen, embodied in a program of amelioration and social reconstruction, based on the assumption that the salvation of the individual and also of society is mutually dependent upon the transformation of the other and quite simultaneous. We must admit that although there is ethical teaching in the gospel as preached by Paul, we are not sure whether he has a program of social reconstruction or not. The primitive Christian gospel seems to draw no lines between the temporal and the spiritual needs of the brethren. It is the interpretation of Adolf Harnack, the church historian, that "Undoubtedly the Gospel contains definite teaching concerning temporal good, but none that could be summed up in the form of national economic laws, and consequently, no economic programme... We have no right to regard it thus, and any attempt to do so will speedily end in failure Our faith is the religion of liberty, and its duties are specially imposed upon you, and upon me, and upon every age, as an individual problem for each to solve. And it must needs end in failure, because no selfconsistent economic precepts can possibly be derived from the New Testament".

Paul's World Prepared for a Social Gospel

There are conflicting pictures painted portraying the First Century A. D., and one feels that each interpretation of the history of that time is substantially and relatively correct. Paul was fortunate enough to have been born outside of the limited confines of Palestine, (Acts 22:3) in Tarsus, the capital of Cilicia. This city was well-known as the cross-roads of Greek and Roman culture, the commerce of the

^{1 -} Harnack, Adolf - Essays on the Social Gospel - p. 14

Complet and covered tollowers, embedded in a covered of confidence and then to make a groupe of scalar reconstruction or and an entrance Compared and the waterland and to the breaking the ter termination and the comnational ecocurate town, and concernently, no accounts programmes... We can no right to regard it this, and any attempt to do no In melation of at durat pro.... overline at hee ciferent liter there in and tes during ore upochally famous upon you, and to solve. In it wast made at the fallers, because no main. ." toomadus Wan

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Mediterranean world, and the meeting-place of armies and men. Whatever problem might be present in any of the centers in that world would be present in this city of Asia Minor. The only world that the ancients knew was the region in close proximity to the Mediterranean Sea. All peoples outside of these lands were known as barbarians. If there was any social purpose in the message of the Apostle Paul, it would be in answer to needs and conditions of this world, which was then under the political supervision of Rome and the cultural sovereignty of Greece.

The Roman Empire was Paul's parish. It extended from Britain to Africa, from the Atlantic to the Euphrates, and was divided into Italy, and "The Provinces". The heterogeneity in The Provinces is remarkable. The Roman policy had been, up to that time, to leave national customs of these different peoples alone. All that mattered to the imperial government was political unity. Paul's task, therefore, was extremely diversified, and his religion or his message must appeal with a large amount of universality. To aid him in his work, the peoples whom he visited had the common consciousness that they were citizens of the world. They were compelled to think of themselves in this capacity by the very fact of the extraordinary efficiency of the Roman imperial organization. Although the supremacy of Greek culture was the only flaw in Roman superiority, Rome had achieved one of its highest peaks of power of its history. It was a world empire. We must look upon its organization as a very definite aid to the spreading of the Christian gospel. Law often saved Paul from the anger and the mob psychology of those who even then had not lost

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their provinciality and their narrowness. The Roman roads had been previously built with such extreme care for the quick transportation of troups which circulated constantly throughout the empire, that the Christians and their missionaries were given free access to all parts of the civilized world. But Rome had not yet been shown that superiority based on force was temporary. It was a glorious age for Rome, and for its officials. But as would naturally be true in the case of such luxury and power, there were conditions in Rome and in the Provinces that were contributing factors in the decay of this great civilization. No amount of political power can offset the lack of moral conscientiousness in social conditions.

Rome had conquered Greece with its armies, but Greece had conquered Rome and its empire with its philosophy, culture, and language. Previously, Greece, in its conquests of the East, had acquired much of Oriental culture, which had had a decaying effect upon the intellectuality of the Greeks. This same decay had been spread into Roman customs and culture, and whatever moral qualities were present in Roman civilization were laid open to deterioration by this influence. The towns and country set aside from the main lines of travel still remained austere and simple. In the centers, luxury was the order of the day, with all its attendant evils of debauchery, sensuality, and lack of social consciousness. There was no strong self-respecting middle class. Urbanization had helped this. At the same time, thinkers and statesmen were viewing the degeneracy, and both philosophy and religions were trying to give an answer to the problem. Good intentions and virtue were emphasized. Many people were turning to forgotten faiths.

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Some were turning to the new religions, which were numerous.

That there were dissatisfaction and discontent among all peoples cannot be denied. Case suggests that the reason for the phenomenal success and the spread of the Gospel was not nearly as much due to the content of the message of Christianity as it was due to the eager response of the Gentile world. Of course, noone can immagine a real response to a message without content. Case would add that "the success of any particular religion within the Roman Empire depended on the degree to which it met specific needs within the syncretistic life of the age."

Rome with its conquests had brought in differing faiths, and under the broad sun of Roman tolerance, each of these faiths had been seen in its true light, and judged accordingly. The First Century was a century of grasping at new loyalties, with the failing of the old. Perhaps it is true that the Gentile world responded quickly to Christianity because it apparently gave protection from evil demons, but it would hardly survive the years if that is the sum total of the satisfaction that it gave. What we are trying to say is that the Gentile world was prepared for a Gospel. That Gospel was required to give some solution to social problems and the degeneration of ethics. The inclination is to accept the picture Paul himself has drawn in the opening part of his letter to the Roman church:

For God's anger is revealed from heaven against all the impiety and the wickedness of men who through their wickedness suppress the truth; because what may be known of God is plain to their minds; for God has made it plain to them. From the very creation of the world, His invisible perfections - namely, His eternal power and divine nature -

^{1 -} Case, S. J. - Social Origins of Christianity - p. 75-6 2 - Ibid - p. 97

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have been perceptible and clearly visible from His works, so that they are without excuse. For though they knew God they have not glorified Him as God, nor rendered Him thanks, but have become absorbed in useless discussion, and their senseless minds darkened. While boasting of their wisdom they are fools; and they have exchanged the glory of the immortal God for images of mortal man, or of birds, beasts, or reptiles.

For this reason, through the lust of their hearts, God has given them up to impurity to dishonor themselves, since they have exchanged God's truth for what is false, and have offered worship and service to the creature rather than to the Greator ever blessed! Amen.

This is why God has given them up to vile passions. Not only have their women exchanged their natural functions for unnatural ones, but the men also, in the same way, neglecting sexual intercourse with women, have burned fiercely in their lust for one another, men practicing shameful vice with men, and receiving in themselves the fitting retribution for their misconduct.

And just as they did not think fit to retain knowledge of God, so God left them with the minds of reprobates to do unseemly things; with hearts filled with all sorts of dishonesty; mischief, greed, and malice; full of envy and bloodthirstiness, quarrelsome, crafty, spiteful, secret backbiters, open slanderers; hateful to God, insolent, haughty, austentatious; inventers of mischief, disobedient to parents, destitute of sense, faithless, without affection, and without pity. In short, though knowing well the sentence which God pronounces against such deeds as deserving death, they not only do them, but applaud others who practice them. (Romans 1:18-32 Weymouth)

This is a gloomy picture indeed, given from first hand information, but it only parallels the opinions given by other historical portrayals of the same period. There is no doubt that this dark background belongs to the picture, When one takes a synoptic view of the whole of Paul's message, he is inclined to conclude that this is not pessimism on the part of the Apostle but the righteous indignation of a heart consumed with a passion for lifting a world out of sin and degeneracy. In pointing out that this was an age that was not without its religious desires, the implication has been made that there was hope. "The Pagan world was not wholly bad.

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It had its scattered and broken lights, which the Apostle recognizes with the warmth of genuine sympathy. But there can be equally little doubt that the moral condition of Pagan civilization was such as abundantly to prove his main proposition, that Paganism was unequal to the task of reforming and regenerating mankind."

Archeological discovery is continually unearthing evidences that religious thought occupied many of the minds of that day, and played a large part. Before Christianity came. Roman organization had tried to cope with the problems of its society, but had made little progress. The Empire had attempted to make it possible for every citizen to enjoy the comfort of a prosperous state. This demanded revolution and political reform, and consequently the changed relations between the provinces necessitated a new religion. The ancients seldom ever saw any kind of a union of organization without some religious bond. In some way the state demanded that a person's citizenship have a religious significance. It is common knowledge that the family tie had a religious meaning in that it passed on the family cult. In this way religion became related to patriotism. The existing religions in the First Century were all national religions. The Roman Empire needed an international one that would not hesitate to take in new members from other territory. It set about to establish such a religion, namely by the introduction of Emperor-worship. But because of the lack of religious significance in the Emperor cult, another religion of the Empire, with even still more of a universal appeal - Christianity - gradually superseded it.

^{1 -} Sanday, Wm. & Headlam, Arthur - The Epistle to the Romans -

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We have the evidence of Luke in Acts 17:22 that Paul found the men of Athens very religious. To this hunger the Mystery religions came, appealed, and failed, because of their lack of ethical content. Judaism also answered the appeal for a religion that would be both spiritual and ethical. It repelled the multitude because of its austerity and its narrow rites, but to many its lofty spirituality, its essential monotheism, and its ethics, answered their heartfelt problems. Although they did not become Jews they worshipped the one God and contributed to the Synagogue and Temple (Acts 10:1-4, Cornelius the Centurion). These monotheistic Gentiles were often called "the God-fearing" (Acts 10:2, 22; 13:16, 26). But Judaism did not have the qualities of a world religion and eventually had to give way to a religion which was spiritual, ethical, and somewhat social, in its emphasis, coupled with a universality.

Although Christianity had a large following in Palestine, it found its best field for expression in the Gentile world. Yet there was a Palestinian discontent that belongs in the general historical picture of that period.

The restlessness was to culminate against Rome and her oppression in 66 A. B. The long cherished hopes of the Jews for a reversal of their own social order by a politicomilitary deliverer had not been realized. Others outside of the militaristic class were willing to wait, with fidelity in God, hoping to win the favor of their national deity. But in the case of both, "all parties were agreed that the status of society needed changing, and that the full energies of one's life should be directed toward the accomplishment of this end.".

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Living in a climate which made rugged men and tended toward simplicity of life and intensity of emotion, they felt keenly the sense of need for better conditions socially. Their prophets, the highest moral leaders whom any race has produced, were the outgrowths of intense social conflicts. A "Hebrew of the Hebrews", such as Paul styled himself, would be fully conscious of the political and social needs of his own people as well as of those of the Empire. He stood midway between, being a Jew of the Diaspora.

No vital religion has ever germinated and sprung up in a social vacuum. Neither has it been able to operate with any success in one. Christianity lays some claim to vitality. The territory into which Paul was born, namely Asia Minor, had its own social conditions. What we know about Roman conditions or of society in Greece, or even in Palestine, does not indicate the character of society in Asia Minor. We have very little material concerning this territory, and for the purposes of our study, we may determine social conditions only through specific incidents which happened in the missionary activity of Paul and indications from advices given to those churches in that part of the Empire. Can it be possible that the boy Paul was sent to Jerusalem because of the extreme Hellenization of education in his home city of Tarsus ? Can it be that his parents feared that the confusion of this great heathen city might disturb the pure spiritual nature of their son? We know something of the conditions through certain descriptions we have of the centers which Paul visited, and from his own references to the treatment he received in them. We know that oftentimes the Gospel that he preached disturbed settled

^{1 -} Philippians 3:5

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elements in Asiatic society, such as the trades of idol makers in Ephesus (Acts 19), of magicians (Acts 16), and of sorcerers (Acts 13).

It has always been remarkable to many that
Christianity started and spread among the lower classes, and
has been sustained by them to the present day. Some well-to-do
people were attracted by it, but its message was most attractive
to the great masses of the poorer classes. A large share of
the population of the Empire were slaves or common people, and
they were usually exploited to carry on the imperial program.
A gospel of hope which they found in Christianity would find
an enthusiastic response both because of its promise of a
future life and also especially for the ideal which it held
for the life of the present.

We have in every activity of Paul's life an intense earnestness which denoted his recognition of a world of dire need and of real promise. We see in every page of Paul's writings, a morbid, unhealthy, and restless society. It was so self-centered. No one knew it so well as Paul. He had been brought up in the midst of these conditions, and as we interpret his apostolic call, we feel that he was conscious of his commission to regenerate this society. Often in his writings we catch a hint of the compulsion which he was under, the compulsion of a great inner experience - here was Christianity with its gospel of love, God, and fraternity, and there was the Gentile world, needy, hungry, and confused, and not only that, but asking to be fed. We are satisfied that the world of the First Century was prepared for a social gospel, or a gospel that included social teachings that might be universal.

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"The Roman Saturnalia, the Athenian Cronia, the Greek myths of the Golden Age, the numerous literary and practical efforts toward communism among the Greeks, and the democracy of many of the Mystery religions, show how widespread the same ideas were in all the Mediterranean world. Christianity could hardly have grown as it did if it had been able to offer nothing more than a promise of heavenly bliss to satisfy the ineradicable demand for justice which perennially blossoms in the human heart. It is as a champion of justice that Jesus holds a place in the homage of the modern world."

^{1 -} McCown, C. C. - The Genesis of the Social Gospel - p. 366

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II. SOURCES OF PAUL'S SOCIAL TEACHING

A. Jewish

Apostle Paul made a complete break with Judaism as he then knew it, Paul was never to lose the clear-cut impression of worship, and morality, which Judaism left upon him, being born in it, educated in it, and becoming a zealot in its cause. William Ramsay feels that "His Jewish inheritance in religious and moral conceptions was, of course, by far the most important part of his equipment for the work that lay before him".

Paul was born a Jew, as well as a Roman citizen, and fell heir to the Jewish law precepts of his forefathers. During his boyhood and young manhood he felt the inadequacy of the Law and of himself. His inner nature, so spiritually intensive as his later mysticism has shown, was in constant conflict. "The terror of this struggle drove Faul into the sternest tendency of Judaism. Paul became a Pharisee." He went to the extreme and became a zealous fanatic. His training had been in the Law under the instruction of Gamaliel (Acts 22:3), and the impression of this grandson of Hillel was to follow him the rest of his life, manifesting itself most vividly not only in his handling of the Old Testament in a later day in his Christian teaching, but also in the austerity of his moral life.

His moral and ethical emphasis was his distinctive Jewish heritage. He despised the extravagances and looseness

^{1 -} Ramsay - Pauline and Other Studies - p. 64

^{2 -} Romans 7:24

^{3 -} Deismann, A. - Paul - p. 93 4 - Galatians 1:14, of. Act. 22:3

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of heathen culture and ethics as any self-respecting Jew would.

To the Jew, his religion and his morals were inseparable. God, as the center, had given the "Torah" or law which could be characterized by its contents - worship, conduct, and attitudes. The observance of these elements gradually took on the form of observance of law. Some have suggested that this rabid emphasis on the Torah was not born of fear but born of a true loyalty to religion and a desire to do right. Possibly it was also a desire to conform and bring on the long-delayed Golden Age of Jewish history. Such a permanent insistence on the law makes one feel that their motive was not mere fear of consequences but a feeling that God's will was a supreme blessing. Over against the condemnation of the law in Romans vii, we have Paul's religious fervor and positiveness in his persecution activities.

The Jewish self-consciousness, that which made him exclusive, did have an emphasis on unity and solidarity, which demanded social virtues. In the Law itself (Deut. 11:22) man is enjoined to always walk in the way of God. Paul has constantly used TEPITATERY REACTION throughout his writings (Col. 1:10; Rom. 13:13, and others). Man is exhorted to be kind to widows, orphans, and strangers, and to relieve hardship because God loves these people (Deur. 10:18). In Lev. 19:18,33, and Exodus 12:49, one law and one only is given for the native and the stranger. Neither is given any privileges which do not belong to the other. We have the Golden Rule in somewhat negative form, pronounced by Hillel - "Do not do to your fellow what you hate to have done to you. This is the whole law entire; the rest is explanation. Go, learn." (Shabbat 31a)

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The Old Testament throughout, insisted on honesty, trustworthiness, and fair dealing, denouncing deceit and falsehood not only in the Law and the Decalogue, but in its prophets (Isa. 33:15). Slavery had always been recognized but the treatment of slaves was to be kind. There is little evidence that the Jewish law requiring that a slave be freed after his seventh year of servitude, was observed or enforced.

God was portrayed throughout the Old Testament as a God of Justice - Lev. 19:15; Deut. 1:17; 16:19; Psa. 15; 24:1-6; Prov. 24:23; Mal. 2:9.

Family life was to flourish; all were exhorted to be fruitful and multiply, and one pictures the reproach of the nation and the community upon any Jew who refrained from marriage. The institution was elevated and lifted by the figure used by Hosea the prophet, of the love relation between Jehovah and Israel. His conception of the sanctity of marriage is mirrored in Paul, and his figure of the marriage of Christ and the Chruch is parallel.

Purity of morals was one of the most distinctive elements in the ethics of Judaism. It is a message from the whole of the law and the Prophets. All sexual perversions, including incest, were condemned (Lev. 18). "As a holy nation Israel's public and private life was under consecration; justice, truthfulness, solicitude for the weak, obedience and reverence for those in authority, regard for the rights of others, strong and weak, a forgiving and a candid spirit, love for fellow man, and mercy for the beast, and chastity, appear as the virtues flowering forth from Pentecostal righteousness."

^{1 -} The Jewish Encyclopedia - Vol. V. p. 247

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The wise historian is not liable to ignore the influences that are brought to bear on the boyhood of leaders of thought and conduct. These moral ideals were before him from the first, casting and molding the moral framework of the Apostle Paul. It is true he broke from Judaism, but his outlook and his adjustments show the force of his Jewish heritage. He never got entirely away from either the Law or the Prophets. He was an uncompromising, intolerant monotheist. His great principle of freedom was founded on a servitude to a higher law - the law of love - which involved responsibilities. After pointing out the essential Hellenism of Saul in Tarsus, his "thorn" as epilepsy, and his dependence on the "Mysteries" the Jewish Encyclopedia gives him this tribute: "Still the credit belongs to him of having brought the teachings of the monotheistic truth and the ethics of Judaism, however mixed up with heathen gnosticism and asceticism, home to a pagan world in a form which appealed most forcibly to an age eager for a God in human shape and for some means of atonement in the midst of a general consciousness of sin and moral corruption ... Paul with his austerity made Jewish holiness his watchword, and he aimed, after all, like any other Jew, at the establishment of the Kingdom of God, to whom also his Christ subordinated himself, delivering up the Kingdom to the Father when his task of redemption was complete, in order that God might be all in all (I Cor. 15:28). He was an instrument in the hand of Divine Providence to win heathen nations for Israel's God of righteousness."1

Paul's predecessor and Master - Jesus - "held many of his dominant ethical ideas as a direct inheritance from the

^{1 -} The Jewish Encyclopedia - Vol. XI - p. 86

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H. Bulcock, that the many likenesses between the spiritual and

ethical teaching of Faul and Jesus can be laid to their

undeniable dependence on a common Judaism.

It is the Prophets in Jewish history who have contributed most to the actual teachings, especially social, of Paul. Of course, his inheritance from Judaism - the apocalyptic dreams, cosmologies, and literature of the Hebrew nation, moulded a mind which was prepared with a sense of the continuity of history which no doubt contributed to his perspective - "Paul did not outgrow his past, he grew out of it". Paul was not a theologian beyond the point of his experience, but what theology he has is great because of its vision and perspective and not because of its dogmatics.

By actual count of the references made by Paul to the Old Testament, the computation made from Dr. Moulton's list in the back of Westcott and Hort's Greek text of the New Testament, one may discover the dependence of Paul upon the prophets of Israel's past. In his letter to the Romans there are eighty-seven references to the Old Testament. Of these, thirty-two are from the prophets, twenty-one from the Psalms, and twenty-four from the Law (thirteen of which are historical incidents). In I Corinthians, there are thirty-one references to the Old Testament, and fifteen of these are from prophetic literature. In the second letter to the Corinthian church, there are thirty- one references and fourteen of these are from the prophets. Galatians has a total of thirty-nine references to the canon, and twenty-two of these are prophetic.

^{1 -} McCown - p. 35

^{2 -} Bulcock, H. - The Passing and the Permanent in St. Paul - p. 40 3 - Peabody, F.G. - The Apostle Paul and the Modern World - p. 131

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In Ephesians we find there are thirty references and the prophets are the source of sixteen of them. Out of a total of ninety-nine quotations or references to the Jewish prophets in the canon, forty-one of them are from Deutero-Isaiah, the accepted author of Chapters XL-LXVI.

Sanday remarks "there are many points in which the teaching of St. Paul bears a striking resemblance to that of the old Prophets. It is not by chance that so many quotations from them occur in his writings". The prophets are preachers of righteousness - righteousness of God and righteousness of man to man. When Israel's piety was prophetic in type, it was great. When the nation dropped the ethical for the ceremonial it ceased to be a world influence. There is a social message in Judaism, mainly prophetic, and Faul manifests the real influence that this phase of Israel's religion had upon a young Jew. Paul found in "the ethical teachings of its great prophets such as Isaiah, Joel, amos, and Ezekiel...the stern rebuke of the oppressors of the poor and downtrodden, the scathing denunciation of the despoilers of the people, the great vision of a unified world in which there should be peace. So ... we find in Christianity the same great faith in the coming of universal peace and brotherhood, the same defense of the poor and the oppressed, the same scathing rebuke of the oppressor that we find in Judaism".

The contribution of II Isaiah is most significant for this study of sources of Pal's gospel. It is common knowledge that Deutero-Isaiah, being a post-exilic prophet, was endeavoring to call back a discouraged race from Exile,

^{1 -} Sanday and Headlam - Romans (International Critical) p. 305 2 - Spargo, John - Common Sense of Socialism - p. 157

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to the rebuilding of a nation. Many claimed that it must be done by the sword, but II Isaiah insisted that the nation Israel is called to suffer and to serve in order to restore itself. The nation will find its highest self-realization by becoming "the Servant". Most commentators consider that this is not a Messianic prophecy but that it deals with the nation Israel as the Servant. (Isa. 42:1; 49:3,5,6). The Servant is to conquer with the weapons of love and truth (41:8,9). Chadwick points out the development of this servant idea thus: "In the 'Servant' passages in II Isaiah the conception of the 'Divine Servant' narrows down from the whole people (Israel) to a section of the people, and then at last to a representative individual; so in the New Testament the conception of the 'Divine Servant' broadens out from the Representative Individual our Lord, who fulfills in Himself, in His work, in His perfect Self-sacrifice, all the manifold forms of Divine service to the first circle of His followers, the infant 'Ecclesia'. (Compare Davidson - Old Testament Prophecy, page 343 - "In the Old Testament the Messiah is the concentration of the people; in the New, the people are the extension of the Messiah.") Chadwick's claim is that Paul realized the possibilities of this amplification and that he worked toward its completion. From Paul's writings we may easily see that the Christian society, regarded as a unity, was looked upon by Paul as an extension of Jesus' service as Savious and Messiah. Strange as it may seem, it is the ethical elements in the Messiah that are to be extended. It is the ethics of the "Servant" that seem emphasized in II Isaiah. To Paul, Jesus' work was unfinished, although it may have been complete in its

^{1 -} Chadwick, W. E. - Social Teachings of St. Paul - p. 55f.

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The traits of the "Servant" as outlined in II Isaiah are paralleled in Paul's ethical exhortations to the brethren in Christ:

Gentleness: Isaiah 42:2,3; 50:6; 53:9

II Cor. 10:1; II Tim. 2:24 (Letters to Timothy and Titus founded on fragments or notes, rewritten by a later hand)

Patience: Isaiah 42:4; 53:7

II Cor. 6:4; 12:12; Col. 1:11; II Thess. 1:4

Courage: Isaiah 50:9

Phil. 1:14, 20; Eph. 6:19, 20

Purity: Isaiah 41:15,16; 53:9

II Cor. 11:3; II Cor. 1:12, 2:17

Meekness: Isaiah 53:6-8

Gal. 5:23; 6:1; Eph. 4:2; Col. 3:21

Kent has given recognition to the use of II Isaiah by Paul, and these are his own words: "It was to him (Jesus) a challenge even as it was to Paul, who in Acts 13:47 quotes
Isaiah 49:6 and declares: 'This is the Lord's command to us; I have set you to be a light for the Gentiles, to bring salvation to the end of the earth'. Paul was undoubtedly right in recognizing that these eternal ideals of service are not limited to any one generation or individual, but are a constant appeal to every man who would be a loyal follower of God, who is seeking to realize his gracious purpose in human society and in the life of the individual. They are a call to patient, persistent,

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devoted effort to uplift and transform humanity".

We are quite willing, then, to conclude that if there is any social gospel in Paul, any program of social regeneration, it would have certain roots in the Judaistic knowledge and training of Saul of Tarsus.

Bulcock has agreed with Schweitzer in that the chief background for Paul's thought was in later Judaism, after it had acquired some Hellenistic influences, and that Paul did not meet Hellenism and Gnosticism at first directly but through the medium of later Judaism. It is quite safe to say this with full knowledge that Paul came directly in contact with these forces later in his journeys. It is hardly possible that he studied Greek philosophy, and outside of a few parallels in terminology, it is fairly certain that Paul did not appropriate much of it. It is not impossible that Greek thought and custom such as had invaded the common life of the cities of the First Century, had the effect of either calling forth a response or a reaction on the part of the Apostle in his campaigning.

B. Greek - Stoic

It would hardly be possible for Paul to escape a Greek influence in the face of Greek as the universal language, and Greek philosophy, literature, and education, in full charge of the minds of the Mediterranean world. There is this universality about Roman power, Greek culture, and Jewish God above all gods, which must have given Paul an exceedingly broad perspective on the facts of the message of the gospel he had

^{1 -} Kent, C. F. - Social Teachings of the Prophets and Jesus
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2 - Bulcock - p. 50

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before him. "Thus in spite of local differences, diverse interests, and racial peculiarities, a man brought up in circles where the influence of Greek culture was felt, could not fail to find himself at home in every great city of the Empire, and to meet everywhere men of like sympathies and interests with himself."

Did he find any social message in what he knew of Greek culture, or did any of it inspire him toward a social viewpoint? He might possibly have been hostile to Greek thought if we are to take I Corinthians 2:2 literally - "For I determined not to know anything among you save Jesus Christ, and him crucified". It is wholly possible that he was indifferent to it, and did not care to give any time to it. Case suggests that so much of the emphasis of the pagan religions, Roman and Greek, was on State and community privileges, that Paul reacted in the direction of a more personal appeal. There is no justification for one to deny that Helenism had a far-reaching influence upon the nascent Christian church after the death of Jesus.

Paul lived amidst Hellenic influences, wrote and spoke Greek, and felt a special obligation to preach the Gospel to the Gentiles (Romans 1:14). He not only needed Greek phraseology, and Greek methods of expression, but also their types of thought to get audience and to get understanding in a Graeco-Roman world. By the time of Faul, Stoicism most represented Greek thought. The Jews abhorred Epicurianism.

I Corinthians 15:32b sums up in sarcasm the disrepute in which it was held by Paul. "If the dead are not raised, let us eat and drink, for tomorrow we die." In Stoicism, we have

^{1 -} McGiffert, A. C. - Apostolic Age - p. 155 2-- Case - p. 102

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an emphasis on virtue for virtue's own sake. The Stoics regarded duty as good because it was duty, apprehended by reason. By reason of rationalism and impartiality, passions of any kind were despised. It was a theory that brought complete freedom from affections, and a studied independence from externals. Will was the regulator of proper conduct. If possessions are taken away from one, the only attitude that was allowable was gratitude for their use for even that length of time. The Stoic appealed to God because it was reasonable to do so, but he had no personal relation to the Deity. A Stoic cannot be conscious of sin; he sees it merely as an error in judgment. As intention was of sole importance. there was no degree of sin possible. Improvement was to be slow, by daily examination. Purity was stressed. But the Stoic indifference to pain called upon themselves the criticism of hardness. In fact, Stoicism was a religion of despair. The rational principle by which they were guided involved none of the masses, and only the intellectual autocracy could attain unto right living. Its great lack was sympathy.

raul might have gotten much from Stoicism, but it is just as possible that he did not. He could have acquired a great deal from the market-place. His parallels with the Stoic do not signify anything conclusive. The things he refers to in Stoicism could have been picked upon the street. Some have pointed out that Paul used the Cynic-Stoic diatribe as a mode of expression. It was a Hellenistic form of address, with a question and a short answer - in Paul, usually "God forbid". (See Rom. 3; 4; 6; 8; 9; I Cor. 4:7:

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6:15; 7:18; 7:27; II Cor. 11:21f; Gal. 1:10; 2:17; 3:19f). But others have attributed this method of speaking to his Rabbinical training. But it is not forms of address which we wish to trace, rather, social ideals gained from the Greeks.

The Stoics gave the world a valuable contribution in their conception of the universal brotherhood. This might be found as an unconscious influence on Paul's conception of nations and relations. Whatever terms he found he usually transformed for his own use. The Stoic in his emphasis on the unity of mankind "was a parallel development and a potential ally". It left out the love element and Stoicism "by the method of difference casts strong light on the greater social efficacy of Christianity as appealing to the whole man, heart as well as head".

Sanday feels that "conscience" as used by Paul, is a technical term which shows more Greek influence than Jewish. Of course, it may be a verbal dependence alone. Stoic speculation was rather at an end in the First Century, and practical morality was the vital message of the Stoic street-corner preachers. Paul could not ignore Stoicism entirely but he was too much engrossed in personal problems to outline any system of ethics. Paul's ethics were to be an expression of a spontaneous "I will" rather than a grudging "I must".

C. Roman

What contribution could Roman civilization have made toward a social message in Paul? Little, as far as knowledge and culture were concerned, for these elements were

^{1 -} Historical Illustrations of the Social Effects of Christianity - p. 41

^{2 -} Sanday and Headlam - p. 61 3 - Peabody - Apostle Paul and the Modern World - p. 233

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Greek. But the Roman Empire certainly had a large part in the ideal of unity and universality of his Gospel. Perhaps it was the knowledge of Roman conquests and strategies that led him to campaign, picking out centers of civilization rather than outposts. There is little doubt of it. There is hardly a doubt that the magnitude of the Empire suggested to him the possibility of making Christianity a world religion. We have already considered the Empire and the Church as the two social agencies, and that the Church responded to a need for religious unity in the Empire (Pr. 20-21). We are indebted to William Ramsay for this clear estimate - "We cannot fail to be struck with the strong hold that Roman ideas had on the mind of Paul. In theory he recognizes the universality of the Church (Col. 3:11); but in practice he goes where the Roman Empire goes. We, therefore, feel compelled to suppose that St. Paul had conceived of the great idea of Christianity as the religion of the Roman world, and that he thought of the various districts and communities in which he had preached, as parts of the grand unity. He had the mind of the organizer; and to him the Christians of the earliest travels were not men of Iconium and of Antioch - they were a part of the Roman world, and were addressed by him as such." As a Roman citizen, the imperial system enthralled him. Something practical and constructive passed into his nature from the Roman influence. He thought large, planned large, and "sought to express Jesus' social ideals in definite organization and institutions". We shall have occasion to question this conclusion of Kent, but he has expressed Paul's debt to Romanism. Paul necessarily caught a vividness and reality from the same qualities in the organiza-

^{1 -} Ramsay - The Church in the Roman World - pp. 147-148

^{2 -} Kent - p. 312

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tion of the Empire, and wide horizons would naturally affect
his conception of the field of his message. "It was an
imperial vision which showed him that all the nations belonged
to God, that the gospel's field was the world and that Christianity was not to be a narrow Jewish sect, but a world-religion.
The vision did not come from Palestine!" At the same time
Paul could not be wholly unconscious of his effect on the
Empire as he journeyed over its roads. His citizenship was
not so common a privilege then as it became later, but it was
the one thing that made the difference between Palestinian
provincialism and a universal viewpoint.

D. Oriental

As far as the Oriental mystery-religions were concerned, Paul shows a distinct borrowing of terminology to express the elements of his spiritual message and to illustrate them for the sake of a Gentile world. Paul has often been criticized for the fact that his message out-mysteried the "mysteries". We can find very little in the mystery-religions which might contribute any social gospel to Paul, except the possible reaction from their impurity and excesses, which were undermining Gentile society in 1 A. D. At the same time, the "mysteries" - Mithraism, the worship of Isis, Zoroastrianism, and others - gave him terms by which he facilitated the Gentile understanding of his message.

Paul was born amid the multiplicity of these religions, and although he was trained in the strictest monotheism, he lived in constant touch with these dramas of redemption till "the dominant word of his message becomes that

^{1 -} Lowstuter, W. J. - Paul, the Campaigner for Christ - p. 16

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removed in the drawn word of his change becomes that

of the mysteries, salvation" (Col. 4:3; I Cor. 4:1). But recognizing what was lacking from these mysteries, Paul gave "salvation" an ethical character. The change that Paul wrought by adapting material from the "mysteries" made Christianity a world religion. There is that in his writings which is conspicuous for its independence from the Gospel story and for its non-Christian origin, which we are compelled to attribute to the Oriental religions. Statements using mystery terms (redemption, salvation, purgation, initiation) have Christian personality and experience behind them.

E. Christian

If there is any Social Gospel in Paul, one of its sources would be the social and ethical teachings of Jesus. It seems that to regard Paul's writings or message as reflections on Jesus rather than the gospel of Jesus, surrenders Jesus and his self-consciousness. Paul would rather object to our saying that to him the Christ of dogmas was more important than the Jesus of history. Of course, we read in Paul of the risen Christ, and we have very few references to the actual life of Jesus, but Jesus is the fountain of all his message. Peabody has contrasted the two men - Jesus and Paul - in order to prove the differences in their messages. He portrays Jesus as the Seer, persuasive, illuminating, suggestive, who synthesized life, less timely it is true; who came out of the country, moving in tranquility, and in the spirit of the Mount of Transfiguration. Paul, to him, was didactic, polemical, hortatory; an advocate, who analyzed life and gauged it by the First Century as well as by the location

^{1 -} Peabody - Apostle Paul and the Modern World - p. 31

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with which he had to deal; a city boy (Acts 21:39) who is used to confusion, whose duality of nature conflicts. He is the practical man of the Valley. But this contrast does not minimize Jesus' contribution to Paul outside of the conversion experience. For, after all, we have said about Paul's being dependent upon Judaism, Stoicism, Romanism, and the Mystery faiths - yet Paul was essentially Christian. In his Letters, he does not merely begin with the resurrection, weaving a theological spell, but they are full of his practical applications of a deep vital experience. This religious experience is part and parcel of the religion of Jesus.

There is no need of pointing out the parallels between the social teaching of these two men. We have considered those of Jesus and shall take up Paul's. The correspondence will be plain. The social element in Jesus' teachings appealed to Paul more than just the once in which Paul quotes Jesus almost word for word concerning divorce, in I Corinthians 7:10-16, paralleling the words of Jesus in Mark 10.

It would be a great mistake in ignoring the love principle which is so strong in Paul's gospel as inclusive of all precepts of the Law, and which is Jesus' colossal contribution to human life. Contrasts may be made and possibly "Jesus was preeminently a teacher while Paul was an organizer, and as such contributed much to shaping the new social order that rose on the foundations laid by Jesus". It seems too farfetched to try to separate Paul's teachings from Jesus' commandment "to love thy neighbor as thyself" (Mark 12:31), in view of the fact that "Genuine love for one's fellow Christians

^{1 -} Peabody - Apostle Paul and the Modern World - Chap. 1 2 - Kent - p. 303

with waron on hed to deals a city ony (loss 2): In) who is great to explicitly of the provision and the provision was of the Velley. But this contend does not the provision to the Velley. But this contend does not experience. For, effect all, we have said about fault's buing dependent upon ludgies. Stoleies, Samenies, and the Hystery dependent upon ludgies, Stoleies, Samenies, and the Hystery faither a yet Faul was established the fault of the his provise a the does not morely begin with the resurrention, wearing a the older that they are light of the mervical applications of the resurrentiant of the mervical applications of the resurrentiant of the resurrentiant of the separation of the resurrented on the mervical applications of the resurrented of the resurrent

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is, Paul reiterates, the great social solvent".

One may make the distinction that the first is the gospel of Jesus, Paul's is the gospel about Jesus; the first is interested in the Kingdom of God, Paul's message is concerning the eternal life. Yet the significance of Jesus in Paul is none the less. When one reads the epistles he feels that he is only once removed from Jesus the Christ. Paul may not have known Jesus in the flesh, but he certainly understood him. He rarely quotes Jesus (I Cor. 9:14; 14:37; cf. I Cor. 7:25), and quotes so few of the actual words of Jesus that for the sake of authority or proof he is unable to appeal to them in the majority of cases. His Gospel was from Jesus - "I must tell you brethren, that the gospel which I preach bears no human impress. For, indeed, it was not from man that I received or learnt it, but by a revelation from Jesus Christ". (Gal. 1:11-12 Weymouth). Perhaps he was extravagant at times in his claims (II Cor. 12:1) but Jesus was his authority. Verbal agreements are so very few, but reminiscences and the mind of Christ occur so many times. Paul agrees with Jesus in the face of a lack of literal dependence, and a lack of written records of Jesus' teachings because his experience of Christ has been so complete. What is the nature of this experience of Christ ? Our answer would be - spiritual and ethical, in the light of his own mysticism and character, and these two elements are at least the roots of any social gospel.

Paul's dependence on Jesus is implied in his characteristic phrase which portrays his whole gospel - "In Christ" - which occurs one hundred and sixty-four times in Paul's writings. The fact of his intense experience and union

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with Christ is the secret of his vision, his strength, his character, his own social religion, and the well-spring of his whole message, and "must be conceived as the peculiarly Pauline expression of the most intimate possible fellowship of the Christian with the living spiritual Christ".

Paul brought a "priceless treasure of ethical 2 convictions" from Judaism into the Hellenistic world, and transfigured the whole by Gospel tradition. His whole social ethics came out of an experience of response or reaction to these elements in his heritage and environment, and the resultant social ideals got their intense brilliance through an experience of Christ, which renewed the man from within.

2 - Ibid - p. 207-208

^{1 -} Deismann - Paul - p. 140

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III. THE EVIDENCES OF A SOCIAL PROGRAM IN PAUL'S LIFE

A. In His Campaigning

We have intimated that the social gospel is dependent upon a program of social action outlined, at the heart of which is a social purpose. It seems quite apparent that Paul's remarkable campaigning of the Mediterranean world indicates a social purpose. Following his conversion, his fourteen years of obscure ministry and his one year at Antioch in Syria in the new church there, he began what is known as his missionary career. This career consisted of three missionary journeys, not so aimless as the word "journeys" would indicate. His first missionary journey (Acts 13:1-14:28) took him from Antioch in Syria to the center of Asia Minor, and back again, a short journey of about three years duration. The work was carried on mainly through the Synagogues and through Jewish proselytes, and the hostility of the Jews witnesses the success with which Paul's efforts were rewarded. . His second missionary campaign (Acts 15:36-18:22) included the same territory in Asia Minor with an additional circling into Macedonia and south through Greece to Corinth, then by Sea to Ephesus and fromthence to Caeserea and Jerusalem. Paul's third journey (Acts 18:23-21:26) was mainly a return to Ephesus, but from there he retraced his route taken through Greece during the previous one, receiving financial aid in what is known as the collection (II Cor. 8:16-19) for the Jerusalem Christians. His arrest and appeal to Caesar took him to Rome (Acts 21:20-28:16), from where he is supposed to have continued his missionary activity to Spain (Romans 15:24-28).

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After we have pointed out the splendid strategic genius of the man and his colossal purpose and plan for evangelization, we have said little that would prove that Paul has a social gospel. It is true that an outline of his journeys and a diagram of the ever-widening circles of his journeys show that Paul is a man who thought in terms of wide areas of society, but whatever social amelioration could have taken place through the gospel which he preached, he must have left to those qualities inherent in the Christian message. Our desire to find a program that is purely social

^{1 -} Ramsay - Pauline and Other Studies - p. 77 2 - Lowstuter - p. 74

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in the mind of Paul should not lead us to read into this man's simple purpose a meaning which is hard to find.

B. In His Internationalism

The fact that Paul left Jerusalem as a Pharisee and entered Damascus as a Christian testifies to the fact that on that lonely road an experience came to him that completely reversed the trend of his life, his conception, and his aims. This experience we commonly call "the conversion" and it is recounted in Paul's own words in Acts 22: 26. These two accounts, although they differ, have as a central fact the reality of a great change. In that conversion experience we find that remarkable life "in Christ" begun, and to it we can refer many of the facts of Paul's attitude toward the world, toward Christ, and toward the people, without straining the point. A call to preach to all men was inherent in that experience and the motto derived from this first communion with the living Christ is expressed in I Cor. 9:22b - "I am become all things to all men, that I may by all means save some". From some of his letters the idea is brought forward that he was solely an apostle to the Gentiles. When one looks at his actual travels and observes him preaching, he finds that he did not confine himself to the Gentiles. It is more probable that the conviction of his special task with the Gentiles came gradually (Acts 13:46). Perhaps he saw his special preparation for the Gentile world in being simultaneously a Jew, a Greek, a Roman, and a Christian. Up to the last he had desires for his own people - the Jews, and out of the dynamic source of his experience of Christ, not only in the

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conversion, but in his constant contact with the Christ, he came to see that in Christ "there is neither Greek nor Jew, circumcision nor uncircumcision, Barbarian, Scythian, bond nor free; but Christ is all and in all" (Col. 3:11).

This previous phrase from Paul's letter to the Colossian church bridges a religious chasm between the Jew and the Gentile. But Paul believed that there was no possibility of hatred between races or between nations if Christ was recognized as the Master. "The passage in Ephesians (Eph. 11:11-22) in which these gigantic certainties tower aloft, shedding their light about them, is the Magna Charta of the idea of Christian Internationalism, and a programme for a divine Millennium, of which we today indeed can scarcely see the very first glint of dawn slowly breaking out of the gloomy confusion of mankind's awful night." Such conclusions on the part of Paul spring from experiences that are quite like the outstanding example of raul's internationalism which we find in the two pictures of the Jerusalem Conference given in Acts 15 and Galatians 2.

At the end of his first missionary journey, Paul returned to Antioch, not knowing until he arrived that he must face the question - should the Gentiles submit to Jewish rites in preparation to their becoming Christian? In the keenness of his insight, Paul saw that this was putting the Law before Christ, and in the end, he went with Barnabas to Jerusalem to settle the thing in conference with some of the leaders of the Jerusalem church. On the contrary, the question was not settled, but was compromised for the time being. In the different sessions which took place, Paul

^{1 -} Deismann - Paul - p. 209

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defended the conviction of a universal human race and the universality of the privileges of the Gospel. As evidence to prove his conviction he marshalled testimony from his different experiences with the Gentile church, and went back to Antioch having in a measure won the victory for Gentile freedom. Not only this, but he had established Christianity as a world religion and not merely as another Jewish sect.

The question kept recurring throughout his ministry and he dealt with it with the same breadth of spirit with which he fought for a spirit of international equality in the Conference. His further teachings we shall mention later. Sufficient to say at the present time that Paul's internationalism would quite well fit in with a social gospel, but it cannot be construed as a definite evidence that there was such a gospel in Paul.

C. In His Famine Relief and Collections for the Poor

The two outstanding incidents in Paul's life of relief work conducted by him are the so-called "famine visit" and what is known as "the collection for the poor of Jerusalem". After Paul had been called to Antioch in Syria as assistant pastor to Barnabas, possibly due to his reported success in the obscure ministry in Syria and Cilicia, the church no doubt received a request from the church at Jerusalem for money and supplies to relieve a famine in Palestine (Acts 11:27-30; 12:25). Paul and Barnabas were delegated to carry these alms to the poor in Judea. Whether we see a humanitarian and social impulse in Paul's action here, the admission must be made that the famine visit was more inspired by a definite need and a possible

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call than prompted by any social purpose or program that might be in the developing mind of the young apostle.

But the collection for the poor which closed his third missionary campaign can be laid to a definite plan and purpose in the consciousness of Paul. Paul has previously been requested not to forget the poor in Jerusalem (Gal. 2:10). Christianity in Jerusalem had encountered difficulties, possibly financial. Since the exile this had been true in Judaism in special connection with the Temple, as well as it was not with the Jerusalem Christians. Wherever Paul got the idea, he planned a campaign of benevolences, and for two years he gathered from these provinces in which he had established churches, alms (II Cor. 9:2). Furthermore, he did not raise the money himself, but sent workers to oversee the collecting. At his request, the churches named a committee of seven to deliver it to Jerusalem (Acts 20:4). One can see from this that it was not merely a passing whim, but because of the strategy of it, of no small consequence.

What is Paul's purpose in this collection - merely relief for the poor? It is surely that. But without reading any more into the story than there is, we may suggest that the practical genius of Paul saw that here was a chance to bind those scattered churches of the Empire into one spontaneous whole, and also bring evidence to the Jerusalem church of the efficacy of the Gospel with the Gentiles. It surely broke down any remnant of hostility and contributed its part toward the destruction of all class and racial distinction. Lowstuter thinks that there is a further purpose in this collection than even these. He feels that it marks a new

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point of departure for the Campaigner, suggesting that Paul "felt his work in the East was now finished; he would close it in some such marked way and then turn westward, visiting Rome on his way to Spain".

No other incident in Paul's life testifies so strongly of a social purpose and a social program, and if we are looking for evidence for a social gospel, we find encouragement from this illustration of Paul's strategic genius.

D. In His Brotherliness

A careful reading of Paul's letter to the Philippians will indicate the closeness and the intimacy with which he bound each church and each convert to himself. So peculiar was his relation with the Philippian church, as different from his relation with other churches, that he set aside the usual precaution of earning his own living expenses, and not allowing any of the churches to support him financially or otherwise. While in Thessalonica he received aid from them (Phil. 4:15, 16; II Cor. 11;8, 9), and at a later time they sent money to him during his imprisonment in Rome.

There is little possibility that Paul could later address his churches so affectionately as he did in each letter that he wrote, if he had not had extremely amicable relations with them when he visited them one or more times. Even in reproach Paul was most kindly, and depended much on the momentum of his friendship for the people to carry his message direct, and to be an entering wedge in the case of new principles or special exhortations. We can only infer from

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1 - Louislander, W. d. - p. 101-102

the general tenor of his life that despite his intense passionate outbursts, his seeming inconsistencies, and his all absorbing world-purpose, he gave himself wholly to each brother and each church whenever he dealt with either.

The name of "brother" was very sacred to Paul.

Such characteristic words as "the brother for whose sake

Christ died" (I Gor. 8:11), draws each particular convert

into closest intimacy with this great apostle. He awards the

most insignificant person in any of his communities with this

all-embracing name. The colossal example from Paul's writings

is that great hymn to love in I Corinthians 13, in which he

gives the ideal for all human relationships.

Not only by his words but more especially by his significant example, he lays before the indifference of the Gentile world the example of the joy and advantage and the duty of brotherly consideration. His exhortation to the Galatians in Chapter VI verse 1 and 2, lays a collective responsibility on all Christians for the mutual care of all their brethren - "Brethren, even if a man be overtaken in any trespass, ye which are spiritual, restore such a one in a spirit of meekness; looking to thyself lest thou also be tempted. Bear ye one another's burdens, and so fulfill the law of Christ." Brotherliness, however, no matter how intimate and inclusive, is not a social gospel; it may be a source but only a contributing source at that.

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E. In His Letter Writing

The account of Paul's life in the Book of Acts gives more biographical material concerning the man than any other section of the Bible gives on any one character. This account, written by Luke, is genuinely historical. The best picture of all, however, of the man, his motives, his purposes, and his spirit, is in his letters, in which with frankness he confesses, boasts, humbles, and justifies himself. The letters are autobiographical and give an intimate picture which is exceedingly real, and they are our first reports of the Christian Church, inasmuch as they were written some time before the Synoptic Gospels or the Acts. His letters are not theological treatises. His theology is in the making while his heart speaks of a spontaneous experience. The letters were written to common people and as such were understood by them. Many an untrained man has gotten the point of them, which may have been missed by the theologians. There is a vital experience in Paul's heart, and although he may talk about "freedom and predestination, justice and mercy, the resurrection of the body and the continuity of the spirit, the man Jesus and the eternal Christ - these appently divergent conceptions are swept into the current of Paul's thought or swell its volume as from side channels of reflection", the main stream of which is an outflowing and inflowing of power from the Divine to the human and vice versa.

The first Thessalonian letter was a letter of parental affection and self defense. His second one to them was a plea for steadfastness and a solution of the "loafer problem". The Galatian letter was in general to the churches

^{1 -} Peabody - The Apostle Paul and the Modern World - p. 76

^{2 -} Ibid - p. 77

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that he founded in Asia Minor and is an indignant protest against their being disturbed by certain Judaizers. It is a defense of Christian liberty, and an indictment against religious provincialism. The spirit of Christ is to emancipate human life completely (Gal. 3:25, 26, 28). Of the letters that he wrote to the Corinthian church we have only two, and they are answers to requests and letters from the church itself. He deals with specific problems in his first letter to them, exhorting them against sectarianism and in favor of a great love which shall iron out difficulties of not only church management but community life. II Corinthians reveals his particular personal hope, discouragements, and aims. The Roman letter is loftier, keener, and more complex, although the chapters 12 to 15 are more practical. He is preparing them for his visit. The letter to the Philippians, as we have said, is the most affectionate and gives us a hint of Paul's Christology. In Colossians and Ephesians, we have mystical assurance of a risen Christ, In the letter to the Ephesians, he gives the primacy of Christ as the reason for bonds between individuals and communities. The Ephesian letter, however, was practical in its aim. It is quite well accepted that this letter is not to the Ephesian church especially, because of 1:15 and 3:2f. It is more of a circular letter to churches that he did not know so well. Paul never limited himself to churches that he had visited. He was an apostle of a field as wide as he could stretch his influence. No doubt Ephesians was meant for Ephesus, but also Laodicea and other churches in the vicinity. Apparently Paul wanted to make use of Tychicus' journey to the East for general counsel. The authenticity

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Apparently Paul's earlier letters were to free the Christian faith, the second group were to spiritualize it. Romans was to systematize Paul's thought and the churches'; the later ones were to idealize the Gospel. Although we might question that raul meant to have the letters classified like this, the inclination is to feel that these are steps in a developing personality and conscious progress in a system of thought. It is true he was trying to set Christianity free from the Palestinian hills. He then tried to lift it out of ceremonial boundaries into the supreme authority of the Spirit. Next Paul desired to work out a reasonable proof to support his convictions; and finally in quiet meditation to dwell upon the beauty of the glory of Christ, thus leading the way to the writing of the Fourth Gospel.

^{1 -} McGiffert - p. 399

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"The letters of Paul are the confessions of a great soul and the counsels of a great mind, revealing with the intimacy of passionate affection the hopes and fears, the ideas and ideals, which passing events conspired to suggest, Liberty, unity, spirituality, the bearing of each other's burdens, the supreme law of sacrificial love - these essential graces of the Christian life, traced in masterly fashion to the abiding influence of the grace of Jesus Christ, give to the letters of Paul their permanent place as guides of religious experience, and make them the most undissguised and the most inspiring chapters of spiritual autobiography in the history of literature." His letters were not words brought up on the spur of the moment, but came from deep principles within his own life. His letters are always practical and timely, with a consistent high ethical note running through them all. His developing theology may occupy him for a few moments, but in the end he returns to conduct.

But to try to find the system in these very human and contradictory documents, is to miss the point in each one of them. We see his life in different phases - Paul is at one time an emancipator, next spiritualizer, again the apologist, then mystic, and finally counselor. Any theory may be defended concerning Paul, if one cares to pick out one of these distinct phases and enhance it. But will this Paul be real without the other phases? All these pictures are contradictory but they must go into our final estimate. Paul is as real as he is inconsistent. His letters will satisfy any theorist. We cannot construct a closed system of thought and rightly claim that it comes from Paul. The differing needs and

^{1 -} Peabody - Apostle Paul and the Modern World - p. 126

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experiences shift the emphasis of his teaching. To take his world, with its conflicting philosophies, and to search out the bedrock truth underlying them all, we must give credit to Paul's synthesizing mind. There is something growing and progressive about Paul's gospel as it is portrayed in his letters, which suggests the evolutionary power and principle in any social gospel, for just as Paul's gospel adapted itself to needs, so does the social gospel emphasize and arouse the dead areas in society, and ignore the others.

F. In His Mysticism and Intensity

Paul is a mystic, as evidenced by his accounts of his own conversion (Acts 9, 22,26), and by his letters to the Colossians and Ephesians, as well as parts of Romans and II Corinthians 5:17 - "wherefore if any man is in Christ he is a new creature". Paul never lived long in these ecstatic states. His conduct and social teaching grow from a deep mystical communion, and his spiritual life produced a generative force which expressed itself in the nobility of his thought and the sanctity of his ethics. His mysticism is the kind that must come out in action, not a barren contemplation but a fertile dynamic. Paul was a mepi o otep wsman, translated "more earnestly". His teaching had an intense earnestness about it - Acts 22:3; Gal. 1:14; Phil. 3:6; II Cor. 4:7f. His spiritual experience is a fountain, the source of a river of religious energy which irrigates and beautifies life on either side of its current. From it flow those timeless elements which make Paul permanent - grace, faith, hope, love, and power.

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The impression that we get from reading his letters is that Paul is too mystical to have a social gospel outlined in a program. On the other hand, if he was to have a social emphasis, we should find the source of his energy in this indispensable factor which has its place in any social gospel - intense personal experience of God, and Christ.

The that Paul is too specified to have a social gover outlined is that that Paul is too specified to have a social gover outlined in a pragram, On the other hand, if he was to raws a social size of the source of his story in this secretary and indispensable factor which has its place in any anexal personal experience of the social content.

IV. THE EFFECT OF HIS CONCEPT OF THE PAROUSIA ON HIS MESSAGE

Throughout the gospel of Paul runs the expectation, sincere and wholehearted, of the speedy return of Jesus. Some= times this return is pictured as a grand victory of the Christ over an earthly world, and also it signifies to Paul the eternal life in which the brethren go to Christ instead of Christ coming to the brethren as in the first case. This discrepancy in Paul's concept of the Parousia, does not invalidate either phase of his conception. It was merely due to the sources of this concept from the different thought-forms of the ancient world. The hope that the Kingdom of God would come in a blaze of military glory was entirely Jewish in spirit. There was also the Pharisaic conviction of the resurrection, and we find a trace of this in I Corinthians 15:51ff. In II Corinthians 5:1, we have Paul looking toward immortality, exhibiting a Hellenistic tendency, and thus side by side in Faul's conception we have an Eastern and a Western expression of a hope for a Day of the Lord. There is in Paul's idea of the Parousia, an element which is associated with the idea of judgment, but the epistles of Paul emphasize more especially the advent of Christ as introducing the final salvation that is the end of the faith of the brethren (Romans 13:11). This redemption is the reason that they were chosen (Eph. 4:30; Romans 8:23). The eternal Kingdom of the Lord Jesus is established (II Thess. 1:5). Christ's followers renewed in body (I Thess. 5:23; Phil. 3:20, 21; Rom. 8:23) and spirit (I Thess. 5:23; I Vor. 5:3-6) shall share in Christ's glory (II Thess. 1:10; Col. 3:4), and they shall rejoice in their likeness to Christ (Phil. 3:21).

As to the manner of Christ's coming in the Parousia, Paul describes it in I Thessalonians 4:10 ff. -

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"For the Lord himself shall descend from heaven, with a shout, with the voice of the archangel, and with the trump of God: and the dead in Christ shall rise first: then we that are alive, that are left, shall together with them be caught up in the clouds, to meet the Lord in the air: and so shall we ever be with the Lord." Paul expects that the Parousia is very near at hand (Rom. 13:11; I Cor. 7:29), and will come within his own lifetime (I Thess. 4:15; I Cor. 15:51,52). Paul's whole expectation rests on the reputed promise of Jesus and on the Messianic prophecies, which had not yet been fulfilled (Acts 17:31; Rom. 2:5-16; I Thess. 5:1-4; II Thess. 2:8; I Cor. 15:54). He also feels that there is some such glory due to the Christ (Phil. 2:5-11). The day of the Parousia will be a time in which all men's work shall show in its true light (I Cor. 3:12-15; Rom. 2:6-11; Gal. 6:7-10). Thus William Adams Brown characterizes the place of the Parousia in Paul's thought: "The entire thought of St. Paul is dominated by the expectation of the speedy coming of Christ. This expectation he finds expressed in the frequent celebration of the Eucharist, which shows forth the death of Christ until he come (I Cor. 11:26). It gives character to his ethics, leading him to desire for himself and for his disciples freedom from those family cares which may render their service less efficient during that short time which remains before the coming of the Lord (I Cor. 7)."

Contrary to the expectation that Paul would neglect moral exhortation or a program of social change, because of the nearness of Christ's coming, Faul's hope sharpened his sense of moral responsibility and eagerness. The belief in the Parousia never hindered him from correcting any wrongs,

^{1 -} Hastings Bible Dictionary - Vol. III - p. 678

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^{1 -} Jacque Blate Blackman - Vol. III - p. 178

religious or social. The "loafers" in the Thessalonian church were sharply rebuked for their over emphasis of the speedy coming of the Lord. He had preached his belief in the Thessalonian church and this class of people had quietly ceased all activity to wait for the Parousia (I Thess. 5). Paul's own belief in the Parousia gave incentive to religious and social earnestness. Heused the Parousia for a motive for Christian conduct. In Romans 13:12, Paul says "The night is far spent and the day is at hand; let us therefore cast off the works of darkness, and let us put on the armor of light. Let us walk becomingly, as in the day; not in revelling and drunkenness, not in chambering and wantonness, not in strife and jealousy. On the other hand, as Sanday points out, we find a result of this conception of the Parousia which affects our study, in the fact that the early church, because of their expectation, outlined no program and legislated only as the needs demanded. There is a certain elasticity about the early church which is due to this expectation of a speedy close.

Paul's emphasis was to have all things in order because constant alertness was necessary, no one knew the day nor the hour when Christ might come. "Paul himself believed and he constantly taught his friends to believe, that the Lord was at hand and that the end of all earthly things was speedily to come... But this hope so far from creating in Christians apathy or recklessness, was to make them more faithful in duty, more patient in trial, and, above all, more watchful and expectant."

^{1 -} Sanday and Headlam - p. 380

^{2 -} Alexander, A. B. D. - The Ethics of St. Paul - p. 348

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^{1 -} Sanday and Saullan - p. 380

This expectation of the speedy return of Christ prompted Paul in the case of needs for reforms, to say "Remain just as you are, for the present phase of things is passing away" (I Cor. 7:26, 31). In the light of the fact that Roman law was most alert to suppress anything that savored of revolution, social or otherwise, it would appear to Paul that "the risks of any radical attempts at reform of the whole social or economic fremework did not seem worth running; while for Christians themselves the new joy and hope were enough to transfigure 'for the short time' all outward lots". In the light of this, it is not safe to give Paul a fixity one way or another, a fixity that declares he is either oblivious to the social needs of the Empire, or that declares that he has plans for making the world ready for Christ's coming. By the very nature of the Parousia message, it does not seem logical that Paul would have outlined a programof social change and reorganization.

^{1 -} Historical Illustrations of the Social Effect of Christianity - p. 33

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V. THE PRINCIPLES UNDERLYING PAUL'S DIFFERENT ETHICAL TEACHINGS

When one approaches the ethical teachings of Paul after having struggled through the complexities of his theology and his mysticism, it is as if he were emerging from the tangled underbrush that covers the floor of a dark forest, into a well marked road full of sunlight. Paul is so specific and practical in the spontaneous exhortation with which he concludes each of his letters that it seems as if his ethics come from another Paul, or rather the real Paul struggling free from speculation and happy to be in the field of the plain and the obvious. There are glorious bits of simplicity throughout his letters, but they are usually found in his ethical exhortations or in his description of real spiritual experience. His ethical ideal was wide indeed, and we are forced to admit at the start that because of our dependence on his letters we find his moral exhortations rather fragmentary. It is quite impossible to make a Pauline system of ethics out of these scattered sayings, but we shall see whether these moral teachings of the Apostle exhibit any tendency to fit into a program. If we cannot find a social gospel in his predominant teachings we may as well conclude that he has none.

A. Salvation by Faith

It is safe to say that the dominant principle in all of Paul's teaching is salvation of the individual by faith in God and in Christ, meaning specifically that raul believed that deeds and observances could not be at all effectual in bringing man to his highest expression. Paul claimed that right relations between God and man alone contained the only

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saving power.

The name "salvation" was already present in the language of the mystery religions of Paul's age. The idea of salvation is also present in the earlier books of the Old Testament, where it meant delivery from physical peril. This idea changed to mean deliverances of the nation, and thus came to mean a function of the Messianic deliverance, both negative and positive, as referring to the gift of eternal life. "The fundamental idea contained in $\int \omega T \epsilon \rho' a$ is the removal of dangers menacing to life and the consequent placing of life in conditions favorable to free and healthy expansion." Paul means by salvation that a man is delivered from all the influences of evil and attendant punishment, and is offered the freedom of a life that has eternal consequences. In his idea of salvation, there is an element of progression. It is started by God in Christ, but because it must be accepted by the believer salvation does not come with one movement. It is a gradual process.

All the benefits of the life and sacrifices of the Christ are offered most freely with the simple requirement of faith. The fact that faith is the only requirement for salvation in Paul, brings us immediately to the secret of the liberty from Law of the Jews, and his ultimate break with it. With this principle of justification by faith, Paul at once broke free from every legalistic or bargaining conception of religion. The different terms he used for salvation, including "justification", "regeneration", "ransom", "propitiation", "sanctification", and others, are terms borrowed from the legal and economic world of his time, but are not to be

^{1 -} Sanday and Headlam - p. 23

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The set of the benefits of the life and morifies of the decided are already to the state are of faith. The fact that fatth is the only requirement for a faith. The fact that fatth is the only requirement for marking in lead, brings on terminary to the scoret of the university from law of the dews, and his already to the scoret of the lit. The distribution of justification by rain, and of once the order of the distribution. The distribution of the most for entraction, and in the ding "description", "representation", "representation", "representation", "representation", "representation", "representation", "representation, and there beer cost on the distribution.

considered as definitions of what salvation is. When we look at Paul's idea of salvation, it is one simultaneous process looked upon from these different angles. God has offered this salvation as a righteousness because of Christ's sacrifice, and He has chosen us before we have chosen Him. This might explain Paul's idea of "free grace".

There are several meanings to the word "faith": creed or dogma, credence or an intellectual and logical recognition, faithfulness, trust or confidence, or a personal attitude of relationship. Although Paul's conception of faith includes all these, yet his emphasis is upon this last one. Faith, to him, is a personal adjustment between God and the believer. It is a character of the attitude toward God and Jesus. For this reason, Paul believes that faith is cumulative. There is a consciousness of growth, of struggle (Rom. 7:25; Eph. 6:12; I Cor. 9; 24; 27). Concerning faith, Sanday says that "It is a mistake to limit it either to the deepening of faith in the individual or to its spread in the world at large; both are included; the phrase means 'starting from a smaller quantity of faith to produce a large quantity', at once intensively and extensively, in the individual and in society". Paul's conception goes muchdeeper than either a loyalty to Law or a mere acceptance of Deity. It is something active and enthusiastic.

The proper exercise of faith brings a death to sin (Rom. 6) which is to be interpreted as a cessation of the old ethical nature, and the birth of a new one. A man is to be entirely cut off from his personal past. Therefore, Paul has

^{1 -} Class notes in Romans and Pauline Letters 2 - Sanday and Headlam - p. 28

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enriched the moral life of mankind by a realization of two great facts: "First, there is the truth that morality, in the full sense of the word, and in its highest development, can only blossom in the fiery heat of religious enthusiasm".

Moral compulsion is not enough but right living is a fruit of the spirit (Gal. 5:22). Second, legal morality was destroyed by Paul in its outer form. He left precepts but these are "only headings to hold chapters of decisions which each man must make for himself". Paul's view is so wholly religious that he has no place for morality independent in significance. The morality he suggests aims to keep the community and the individual in faith and purity. We must remember that Paul is a missionary and not a reformer, but of course this does not prevent his ideal of faith and the morality that comes therefrom, from effecting reformation.

There is only one logical consequence for the man or woman who is "in Christ". He takes on a moral life that is in correspondence with the righteousness of the God whom he worships. The whole Christian life springs from his attitude with regard to his creator. All the rest of Paul's ethical teaching depends upon this one dominant idea, but as we have seen in our definition of the social gospel that faith in God and in Christ is essential, there is a strange parallel evident between Paul's ethical teachings, and the characteristics of the social gospel. Of course, this does not make Paul's social teachings that specific type of gospel, but it leaves the door open to consider Paul in that light.

"The religion of Paul is fundamentally....a religion of sanctified sanity and illuminated common sense."

^{1 -} Weinel, H. - St. Paul, the Man and His Work - p. 134

^{2 -} Ibid - p. 137 3 - Peabody - The Apostle Paul and the Modern World - p. 221

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^{1 -} Moinel, H. - Mt. Real, the Day and the North - B. 184 2 - 1846 - P. 187 3 - 1840 - P. 187 5 - Instant - The Appendix real and the Andrew World - C. 277

B. Love Manifested in Service

"For ye, brethren, were called for freedom; only use not your freedom for an occasion to the flesh, but through love be servants one to another. For the whole law is fulfilled in one word, even in this: Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." (Gal. 5:13,14)

"Owe no man anything, save to love one another: for he that loveth his neighbor hath fulfilled the law. For this, Thou shalt not commit adultery, Thou shalt not kill, Thou shalt not steal. Thou shalt not covet, and if there be any other commandment, it is summed up in this word, namely, Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself. Love worketh no ill to his neighbor: love therefore is the fulfillment of the law." (Romans 13:8-10)

"Now we that are strong ought to bear the infirmities of the weak, and not to please outselves. Let each one of us please his neighbor for that which is good, unto edifying." (Romans 15:1, 2)

As a natural consequence to a faith in a common God, and Christ, men and women were to be bound into a unity. Each was bound to others by a love which was born of their mutual relation in Christ. A sin against a brother or against a group was against Christ (I Cor. 8:12). To Christian brethren social duties were not from external law, but springing up from the inside. Therefore, they were a fulfillment of the law. The Stoics had taught human solidarity for generations, but love am human obligation had been lacking. Love for God resulted in love for each other, producing a dynamic which forced them to serve each other. Paul had in this principle of love, two social aism - to develop social citizens and to unite them into a brotherhood. (I Cor. 9:19-23). He gave as an example to accompany his teaching concerning love, twenty years of personal suffering. He explained that he could do nothing else because of his love for God and therefore his love for his fellow men. Faith in God brought a transformation and men and women were compelled by a new affection to serve one another. The yes beatiment were called our freedom; only our ran or the control of the con

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We have a continual appeal that all things be done for the mutual edification of each other (I Cor. 14:26; Rom. 14:19) and brethren were exhorted to build up each other (I Thess. 5:11-15). Paul felt that all the other commandments were subordinate to this one and if this was obeyed the whole law was satisfied. These thoughts are expressed in our quotations at the beginning of this section. To Paul, love was the first proof of the Spirit (Gal. 5:22).

found in this kernel, but of course the seed is not the whole plant. Search as we may, this love is not applied to any specific problem but to the whole of life. A natural biproduct of love expressed in service is forbearance. Only through this quality could they have peace and harmony (I Cor. 7:15; Rom. 14:19). In I Corinthians 13, Paul builds a structure of character and Christian group life, on the foundation of love - the finest monument to his wisdom and his dignity. This principle of love which is so clearly crystallized in this beautiful bit of literature, adds a new quality to all his moral teachings and changes them into not mere conformity, but a summons to activity in Christ. Before this flood of love, his ethics leaps out of the field of personal integrity and sweeps into a wider area of a social message of the Gospel.

Of course, we must admit that Paul's emphasis did not insist on unity further than the Christian community.

Therefore, we are compelled to leave this love principle still in the field of general exhortation and leading principles.

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C. Christian Unity - "All One Body"

Weinel thinks that Paul had to make up a kind of sociology because of the daily needs of the churches. "It is not a true system of social ethics which Paul has left us... for him the only question is this: how can this church of God, the body of Christ, be preserved from party strife and schism, from revolution and from anarchy?" Paul is guided by the immediate needs of small groups - family, community, and church. His best expression of the ideal of Christian unity is in his letter to the Philippians 2:1-4 - "If there is therefore any exhortation in Christ, if any consolation of love, if any fellowship of the Spirit, if any tender mercies and compassions, make full my joy, that ye be of the same mind, having the same love, being of one accord, of one mind; doing nothing through faction or through vainglory, but in lowliness of mind each counting others better than himself; not looking each of you to his own things, but each of you also to the things of others". The Christian unity movement in the Twentieth Century could not surpass that as an ideal very easily.

Paul gave solidarity to the Christian church and community by declaring the individual obligation of one to another. Christians must present a unified front to opposition, of which there was plenty. They had one common Lord, one baptism, one Scripture, and one faith (Eph. 4:5). Disharmony was a sin against Christ because of their relation in him. Paul pictures the Christian body of believers as the body of Christ, and points out their relations to one another in that body (I Cor. 12). As believers they literally formed Christ's body. The sin of one would be against many and against the

^{1 -} Weinel - p. 330

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Whole. The result was that "actually this consciousness of the corporate life, of the unity of believers, was the most effective motive that Paul could have urged upon his fellow Christians for achieving the true 'koinonia'".

We have specific instances in which Paul dealt with the problem of the common edification of all, in which he enlarged upon the responsibility of one member to another. There was the consecrated meat incident in I Corinthians 8:10, in which the whole matter and problem of edification of the whole, points to a consciousness in Paul of the social implication of his gospel. He illustrates the sacrifice that must be made for true peace and harmony, by speaking of his own sacrifices of personal liberty for their sakes (I Cor. 9:1-27: Rom. 14:20). We have spoken about forbearance, which was not a virtue in itself but an underlying principle in Paul's Christian community - "It was actually love in its social aspect". Paul pointed out that selfishness was the root-vice of all trouble, and that self interest was deathly to their "fellowship". Another instance of his ruling in behalf of the whole Christian unity, was regarding the use of spiritual gifts in the Corinthian church, namely the practice of the "gift of tongues". Paul's interest in the whole body of the believers lead him to rule that anyone who cared to speak in tongues must have an interpreter (I Cor. 14).

This Christian commonwealth (Gal. 5:21; I Cor. 6:10) implies that the Kingdom of God of Jesus is in the back part of his mind, and through its diversity of gifts and talents, he called it the "body of Christ". All individual powers were to be turned toward the common good (Rom. 12:3-8; 1 Cor. 12:21-25;28-31).

2 - Ibid - p. 249

^{1 -} Enslin, M. S. - The Ethics of Paul - p. 74

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There have been two or three methods of dealing with social problems from the first of Christian history: one has been the stirring of the individual conscience toward a Christ-like personality. In this case the Kingdom of Gos is not an institution, but a body of God-loving and neighborloving individuals. Another method has been through congregations of individuals which have been charitable societies bound together by brotherly love. This type of fellowship has never left Christianity since the days it was strongest in the early church. Another method of dealing with social problems by Christianity has been by negative protests and petitions to the Emperors. They came later than Paul's time. From this preceding, Harnack draws this conclusion of the First Century Christians' method of dealing with society: "Next to purity of morals, brotherly love was the outstanding characteristic of this society, and we find everything subordinated to the main purpose of binding together individual congregations and the whole body of Christians into one fellowship, ever ready to help its own members and the world around".

D. Purity - Liberty not License

As practically all of these ethical teachings of Paul intertwine, Paul's emphatic insistence on purity of Christian character depends on that quality that he extolled so much - love manifested in service. His words in Galatians 5:13, 14, give us his justification for his great emphasis on purity, Love and service are the one effectual method of keeping liberty from becoming license. "In essentials, unity; in non essentials, liberty; in all things, charity - such was the rule of Paul."

^{1 -} Harnack - Essays on the Social Gospel - p. 25

^{2 -} Peabody - The Apostle Paul and the Modern World - p. 93

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The best solution to the social problem which the early Christians had was their radical attitude toward the world of idolatry and vice. They withdrew from it as far as possible. Paul knew that the Christian dwelt in a hostile world of temptation. He was not immature or hasty on the subject of purity. He had had contact for twenty years in Asia Minor and Greece, and his great emphasis comes from the ethical purity of his forefathers. George Foote Moore refers to a conference of Rabbis at Lydda in ancient times that had decided that when a question came up about the execution of one of the Jews, the rest of the Torah could be set aside, but heathenism, homicide, and unchastity could not be condoned. This shows the Jewish abhorrence of vice and sexual impurity, and gives the key to the Pauline attitude. Paul was constantly advising all his Christians to steadfastness in all of life. He regarded the whole age as evil and temporal (Gal. 1:14; Rom. 12:2). The end of evil was at hand (Eph. 5:16). The future reward would make up for all the hardship sustained for the sake of personal integrity. His attitude toward the world is quite well expressed in I Corinthians 10:27ff, in which he advises Christians to mingle with the world but to keep Christ from discredit by any act of theirs. As well as keeping themselves "unspotted". they were to keep rigid observation upon all their conduct (I Cor. 16:13).

This, then, is the social teaching which we might gather from Paul's moral precepts concerning purity, that license as a perversion of liberty brought disrepute and dishonor to more than one, and that the rights of others must be

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guarded because of the principle of loving service. This principle of unselfish love expressed in purity and applied to the specific situations of such churches as the Corinthian church and its problem of incest, comes the nearest to any program of social change which we might find in all of Paul's teachings.

E. Marriage and Women

Much criticism has been aimed at Paul for what he has said concerning marriage, in I Corinthians 7. It has been quite difficult to decide definitely what was his attitude. Interpreters have set upon Paul because he enjoined young men to stay single, but rather than run any risks they had better take the lesser of two evils and become married. But in reality, Paul is here influenced by his idea and conception of the Parousia, and because of its close proximity in time, he advised those who were strong enough to concentrate their activity on Christ and his work, without the confining influence of a family. It is quite impossible that he considered marriage a sin, when he used so freely the figure of the marriage relation between Christ and his church.

He insisted that those who were married were to remain in that state, even those who were married to unbelievers. He must have known that to interfere with a man and his wife was to sow intense discord. Furthermore, if there was interference, he knew he could not guarantee the continence of either partner.

His ruling concerning divorce was almost identical with Jesus' attitude (I Cor. 7:10 para llels Mark 10:9 and

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Matt. 19:16). Paul has added to Jesus' attitude the inclusion of women's rights in divorce. Despite the fact that the female population of the human race have not regarded Paul's attitude toward them as complimentary, yet the historian knows that Paul, following Jesus, gave women a much higher status than they previously had in the Gentile world.

In this connection, we have a few scattered advices concerning the home. There is enough in his teachings concerning the family that we conclude that to him the primary field of Christian society was in the home. The earthly family was likened by him to the family of the human race with God as a Father (Eph. 3:15). We have in Colossians 3:21, advice to fathers to avoid irritating their children, and in the same connection children are exhorted to obedience. Paul is the apostle of obedience, as an expression of love.

We may regret that Paul has said so much in his letters concerning sexual impurity, but we must not forget his background, a background of Jewish hatred of unchastity. Paul himself did not enjoy the subject and he asks other people not to talk about it (Eph. 5:3). "He wrote as he did not because he enjoyed it, but because the brother for whom Christ died was in deadly peril; the Lord in whom he lived was being profaned; the fellowship of the saints was being threatened."

If we should list allof Paul's advices concerning marriage, divorce, and the home, we should not find a program of social reorganization, but rather practical, age-less ideals as well as specific advices concerning needs of the First

THE RESERVE OF THE PARTY OF THE and the last the first the second of the sec and the first of the contract of the second of the last of the las the fill man at the contract of the contract o acherence and followers of them. Together the performance in The second of th the second of th . She mall start in the start of the start o . con la mingra pe de la comissión de la comissión de la . Pleasen to lorger detailing to contain a part in the the first some of and a cold of space of a bridge of the and the state of the second se

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Century, which might be all summed up in his exhortation "to hold steadfast". Paul was so busy with the problems of the Gentile world and the family life within his churches that he had no great system to lay down for the remaking of the institution of marriage.

F. The Ideal Christian

Apart from his answers to specific problems, Paul once in a while indulges in pictures of what he consideres an Ideal Christian. These pictures are in the form of lists, and usually these lists have itemized what he regards as the different "fruits of the Spirit". Oftentimes purity is the first item in the list and other times love starts the list, as if it is the foundation of all the rest.

A comprehensive statement of these characteristics would include love (Rom. 12:8; Gal. 5:22), humility (Phil. 2:3; Col. 3:12), considerateness of otherwise known as meekness (Gal. 5:23), kindness (Gal. 5:22, Eph. 2:7; Col. 3:12), long-suffering or slow-tempered (II Cor. 6:6; Phil. 4:4; Col. 3:12; Gal. 5:22), self control or self-mastery (I Cor. 9:27; Gal. 5:23), forgiveness (Col. 3:13), compassion (Col. 3:12), and hospitality (Rom. 12:13).

There are other cases of lists in Paul's writings which are not "fruits of the Spirit" but are catalogs of vice, such as Galatians 5:21. These catalogs of vices seem to imply that Paul used existing lists as sources, in the fact that they follow a definite formula. In the case of the lists of virtues which he attributes to the ideal Christian, they seem to be original and springing from the beauty of Paul's own

the noil steadiest. For it would not in the exacts then of the noil steadiest. It is not the province of the deathly to be the character of the their objects of the statute of the character of the tent to the character of the tent to the character of the their tent to the character of the their tent to the their objects.

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There are not "fruits of the Spirit" not are certains of the state of

experience and from the wealth of his own moral ideal, but we fail to see any implication in these lists, other than the ethical ideal that he holds uppermost, for anything like a systematized standard for society. After all, these virtues are to come out of the fullness of a deep experience "in Christ".

G. The Civil Government

Paul outlines his attitude toward the Roman government in II Thess. 2:7; Romans 13:1-7, and Philippians 3:20. He expresses himself most clearly in his letter to the Romans: "Let every soul be in subjection to the higher powers; for there is no power but of God; and the powers that be are ordained of God. Therefore he that resisteth the power withstandeth the ordinance of God; and they that withstand shall receive to themselves judgment. For rulers are not a terror to the good work, but to the evil. And wouldest thou have no fear of the power? Do that which is good, and thou shalt have praise from the same: for he is a minister of God to thee for good. But if thou do that which is evil, be afraid; for he beareth not the sword in vain: ; for he is a minister of God, an avenger for wrath to him that doeth evil. Wherefore ye must needs be in subjection, not only because of the wrath, but also for conscience' sake. For for this cause ye pay tribute also; for they are ministers of God's service, attending continually upon this very thing. Render to all their dues; tribute to whom tribute is due; custom to whom custom; fear to whom fea; honor to whom honor." (Rom. 13:1-7) Paul here is calling attention to the fact the Roman Empire

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Once more, we have the Parousia affecting Faul's conception, for he feels that in the face of the speedy coming of the Lord, any risks incurred would be foolhardy if they were intentional. The Empire was very powerful and at least it kept order. We have consciously avoided reading into any of Paul's advices a program or a social purpose, but in the case of this advice concerning the civil government, we are forced to admit that Paul has a principle involved, and that is of the maintenance of peace among the communities, and in the Christian groups. The Jews were known to be turbulent and had been expelled from Rome, and this was another case of liberty becoming lawlessness. We see a striking parallel here in Paul's teaching with that of the Master in his exhortation to "render unto Caesar the thing that is Caesar's" (Mark 12:17). Paul looks upon taxes as sacred obligations. He is conscious, of course, that observance of law, the civil law, at least, was a guard against Roman suspicion of the Christian church. Paul had always abhorred violence and insurrection, and he shared the First Century Roman reverence for law and order.

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H. Slavery

Paul has often been quoted as approving the institution of slavery simply because he returned a runaway slave

One simus, to Philemon, to whom the letter to Philemon is written.

Paul offers to make restitution for any harm that One simus has done to Philemon. Also, in the Corinthian letter he exhorts

Christian slaves to remain true to their masters. Over against these facts he taught that every man was a free man in Christ.

Nevertheless we would hardly draw from that that he desired to emancipate all slaves. "It may be doubted indeed, whether such a thought ever occurred to him. Christianity, as he understood it, did not directly affect social or political conditions."

Paul was not looking for any social revolution. Again we must trace his attitude to his concept of the Parousia.

Because of this, and because of his Parousia idea, it would be well to add here, although the fact applies to all of his specific advices, that Paul was a First Century Christian and as such had not yet had to apply his Gospel so thoroughly. He had not had time to fully realize the implications and applications of this new experience. Christians in the Twentieth Century have not received the full impact of the Gospel yet.

Paul wished that all social relations remain
the same, for these reasons. He sends One simus back, hoping
that the relation between the master and the slave be sweetened.
In Colossians 3:22-23, he asked the servants to be obedient
with the fear of the Lord in their hearts, knowing that all
men are brothers in Christ, and that in the future glory to
come, their condition will be much altered. In Ephesians 6:9.

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masters are asked to be kind and forbearing, for in the eyes of Christ, no man is inferior or superior to another.

His attitude toward slavery cannot be classified under the head of social reforms, and although the principle of equality in Christ which he utters so clearly in the instances named, has far-reaching consequences when once it is fully realized, "here as in every social relation, Paul emphasizes responsibilities rather than mere rights". Paul has not yet arrived at the modern interpretation of human freedom.

I. Attitude toward Wealth

Of course in the early Christian society, Paul did not have much of a problem with wealth, and the few well-to-do persons whom he had in his Christian communities were generous to those brethren who were in need. His advices concerning love in service, and concerning the spiritual unity of the Christian group, were sufficient to take care of the poor and the needy in the churches that he established, because of the expression of these principles in actual help and mutual consideration. Paul admitted that he knew what it was to be in need (Phil. 4:11-13). He believed that every man should have a living wage (I Cor. 9:1-10), but also he believed that any man who did not work should not eat (II Thess. 3:10). Paul gave great encouragement to stewardship (II Cor. 9:7-12) and made all giving voluntary and out of the spontaneity of the heart. Poverty was not a mark of devotion to Christ, in Paul's estimation. In I Corinthians 1:28, it's not that riches are condemned, but their selfishness is to be criticized. sectors are exted to be bind and forbearing, for in one-year of Ferilit, we see in inferior or superior to applier.

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Other treatments concerning worldly goods are found in II Corinthians 9:7-9, concerning the "cheerful giver"; Philippians 4:14-19, concerning the gifts to Paul; but in all of these incidents we do not find a studied insistence upon a compulsory community of goods. The response with which his churches offered aid to their own brethren in their own community or other churches, was hardly due to any special Pauline emphasis upon social service. I Corinthians 16:2 is the exhortation to lay by a certain amount for the "collection for the Saints", but this does not prove by itself any social gospel.

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VI. PAUL'S GOSPEL POTENTIALLY SOCIAL

We have searched through Paul's life and teachings, and have found that his religion which aims at the saving of the soul and transforming the inner man with its attendant consequence of moral living, has been mainly a religion of the individual. His gospel has been to the individual man of the Roman world before it has been applied to the social institutions of the First Century. Paul has made his great contribution to the history of the world without being forced to answer for the social conditions of the Second Century. Nevertheless, the Second Century and each succeeding century has felt the impress of the implications which his individual gospel made upon the First Century Christians. A religion that holds outward circumstances as a secondary matter cannot be expected to initiate economic and social developments. Paul's religion and the gospel that he preached were interested in the inner man first, and his conduct second, if these elements can be separated. His Gospel marched forward and the changes that came as by-products followed in its wake. His Gospel made its own direct contribution and properly receives some of the credit.

Paul was a mystic and a practical one at that, and his mysticism found expression in a practical morality. He emphasized the solidarity of mankind in the fact that all were one body in Christ, and that they must live in harmony. This is in part Paul's greatest social contribution. He gave morals and social living a goal which made morals real. Other systems of thought had urged some of the same qualities of ethical conduct that he desired. But none of them had any hope nor a

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the bays secretary through Real's life and cancillary, to notables a gimler meed and .nalvii large to engruptomen. to non labivitud age of many to lace to the individual non of evitables of our First Century. Pour ses made his greet to somer for the scale sometimes of the Second Company. our modellar A . excitation washed death of regulation one student to initiate accounts and souls' temporarie. Faul's one importanties, and his condens conound, if these elements one or reserviced. His Puspel rateded forward and the charges Interest if . edge and at hemolife accubangent as asso ton-

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common basis for a social call. Paul answered both of these needs. Whatever had been lacking in each of the other systems of thought, Paul found a way in which the religion of Jesus could be utilized to satisfy these needs. "Christianity did not appear in the cities where Paul labored as a great public movement, involving religious and political consequences of civic or national proportions, but as a leaven working quietly for the conversion of one household after another and binding them all together in the bonds of a common faith and a common hope."

A. Conclusion

It is difficult to fully estimate Paul's historic significance. We must come face to face with the amazing success of his campaigning but not only that, the impulse which he gave to the Gospel which changed it from a Palestinian sect to a world religion. It had its social consequences, but indeed, it was interested in something far deeper than the amelioration of the social conditions. In its particular sense, a social Gospel is for a specific time, and it deals especially with the age in which it is preached. Paul's gospel, as much as it would surprise him, was meant for all ages, and this does not minimize the fact that the source of his gospel was Jesus of Nazareth. Many have criticized Christianity for being Pauline. That part of Christianity which has taken Paul's theology and magnified, it, can be called Pauline, but that part of Christianity which corresponds to the religion of Jesus and which is at the heart of Paul's gospel in the first century is essentially Christian.

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Case's attitude about the significance of Paul is that he "did little to help build any social structure". We have over against that the opinion of Kent who believes that the Christianity of Jesus and of Paul presents a program "binding all men together by the bonds of common self interest. faith, service and love". We are rather inclined to agree with Francis Greenwood Peabody, that "to conclude with Prof. Royce, that a new social order was Paul's chief design, and that the being whom he called Christ Jesus was in essence the spirit of the universal community, seems to leave quite out of account the obvious fact that Paul's supreme attachment was not to a community, but to a person". Paul's community was a church and not a social order. It had seeds of the social order, but the fully developed plant was the individual naturally in relation with others than himself alone.

Ernst Troeltsch finds no social program and no direct social teaching in Christianity, either as Jesus began it, or as Paul carried it on. He says that there is a revolutionary element hidden in the words of christ, but without any revolutionary intention. He also claims that Christianity is not a result of class war or social movement, and bases his asseumption on the fact that it was never connected with ancient society's social upheavals. Furthermore, the whole literature of Christianity contains no definite solution to social problems, because it is wholly taken up with salvation, immortality, worship, monotheism, practical tests of believers, and rules of holiness. It was no religious cloak thrown over any ancient socialism. Where Troeltsch goes astray is where

^{1 -} Case - p. 164

^{2 -} Kent - p. 314 3 - Peabody - Apostle Paul and Modern World - p. 49

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he claims that Christianity is a religious movement to the exclusion of a social message. Troeltsch is a reaction against the claims of the Marxian school, who extravagantly claim all kinds of social programs and reforms for Jesus and Paul.

Paul had no system of ethics, but he was merely introducing a new moral sense and a new conscience to the l Gentile world.

B. Summary

Paul had no social gospel with a definite plan of a technical program, and we doubt whether he ever preached one, but he had the principles of such a gospel at the heart of his life and teachings. Jesus' Kingdom ideal was persistent in his mind. He applied Christ to social relations but not to the whole social order at one time. All his ethics and social principles sprung from a deep-seated, overwhelming purpose - "to present all men, faultless, in Christ Jesus". Our conclusion is that a social gospel was latent in Paul's writings and teachings. Paul outruns his purpose and his heritage in Judaism, Hellenism, Romanism, and the Mysteries. By his life and campaigning, he gives more impetus to the gospel and to social ideals than he is conscious of. His idea of human solidarity was superb, and he carried it out, but the idea was not nearly as developed at that time as it grew to be in later centuries. His Christian community of mutual members in Christ was only a starting point. Around it he built his principles and advices. Its climax has not yet been reached. We are partial to the characterization

^{1 -} McCown - p. 26 ff.

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which Bulcock has made of Paul's faith: "Faith grows by being taken into wider worlds. Every encounter with a new civilization or system may enrich it in a double way: it is stimulated by the suggestiveness of other forms of truth and practice...Without Paul's work of translation, Christianity might have become a new legalism, a temporarily reformed Judaism, a limited Jewish sect...It would have lost the intellectual strength of Greece, and the organizing genius of Rome...Christianity never would have 'found itself' without these wider contacts."

Through his mystical union in Christ, he learned simply this, that Life in the Spirit had its ethical and social results - love, unity, purity, integrity, harmony, sterling character, obedience, freedom, liberty, and multitudes of other precipitates in the alchemy of human conduct. Christianity had in Paul a master builder of foundations.

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